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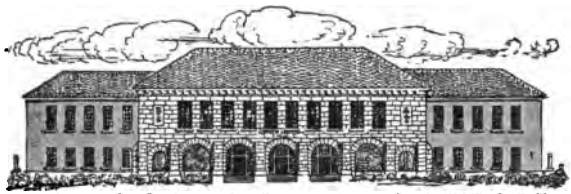

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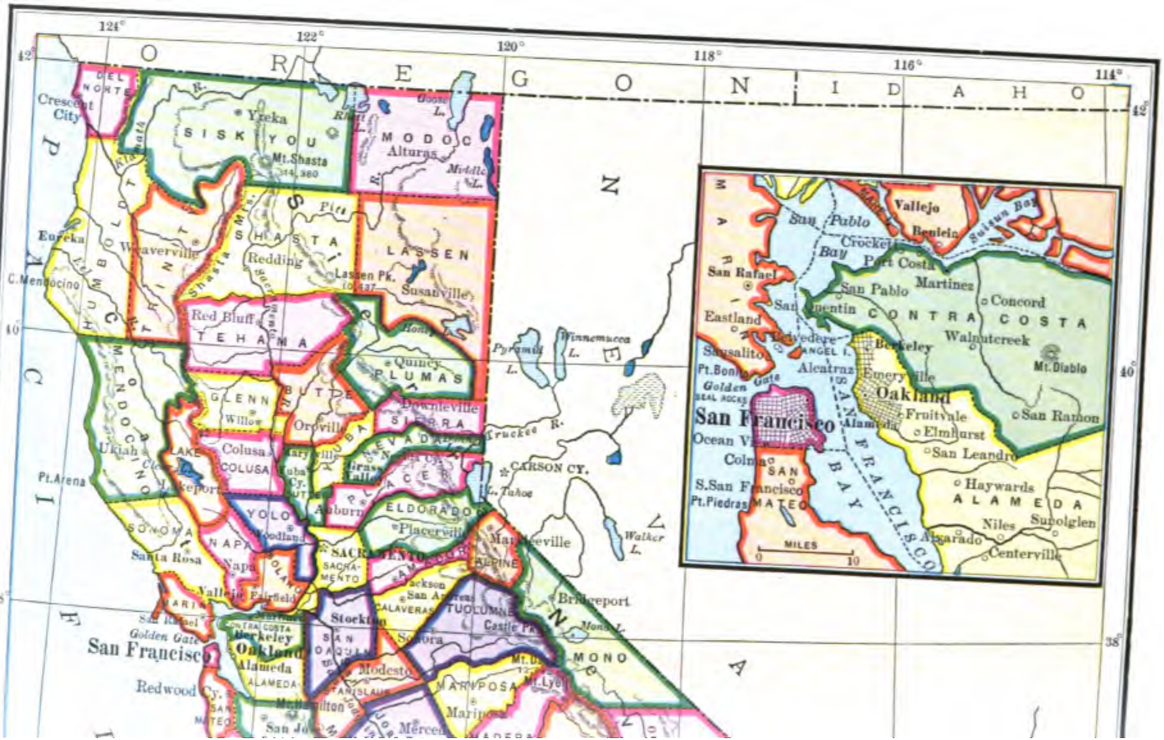
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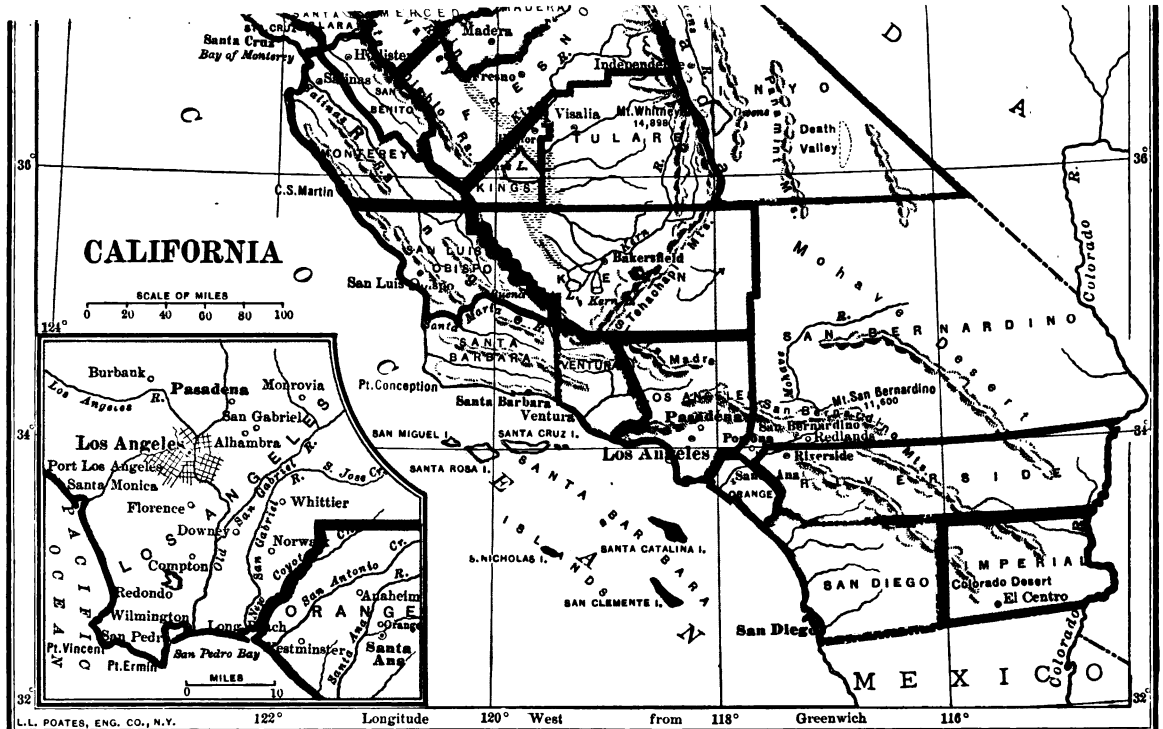

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STORIES OF THE STATES

CALIFORNIA
THE GOLDEN

BY

ROCKWELL D. HUNT, A.M., PH.D.

PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA; MEMBER OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION AND OF THE SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY; AUTHOR OF "THE GENESIS OF CALIFORNIA'S FIRST CONSTITUTION"

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS

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TO MY SONS

PAUL ADAMS HUNT

AND

LLOYD FREEMAN HUNT,

NATIVES OF CALIFORNIA THE GOLDEN,

THIS BOOK

IS

AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED

DEPARTMENT OF
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PREFACE

In the preparation of this book the author has not sought to write a complete history of the great Commonwealth of California, but has endeavored to set forth, in simple narrative, the salient features in the fascinating story of the upbuilding of the Golden State.

Himself a native son of California, born of pioneer parents, he has long cherished the hope of seeing wider and deeper interest in State and local history taken by citizens of California and especially by pupils in the schools. In adding this volume to the Stories of the States series, therefore, he has had constantly in mind the needs of that great army of boys and girls in our public and private schools, whose lives should be enriched and ennobled by intelligent instruction in the history of our great, sovereign State.

While it is earnestly hoped that the book will be of interest to that numerous constituency known as general readers, it has been more particularly designed for use as a textbook or as a supplementary reader in the upper grades of the grammar school.

The author has been at much pains to insure accuracy of statement, directness of style and a

just sense of proportion, as well as to add to the beauty and value of the book by collecting photographs of marked excellence. He desires to acknowledge his indebtedness for many of the photographs to the *Sunset Magazine* of San Francisco and to Doctor Harold W. Fairbanks of Berkeley, and for photographs and cuts to *The Grizzly Bear* of Los Angeles. For reading and criticizing the manuscript it is a pleasure to make acknowledgments to Mr. James Ferguson of the San Francisco School Department and to Mr. J. D. Sweeney of the Tehama County Board of Education. Thanks are also due to a colleague, Professor Katherine Forrester, for assistance in the preparation of the Pronouncing Vocabulary; to the Century Company for permission to use brief extracts from magazine articles; to Mr. George W. Hazard for his copyrighted facsimile signatures of the members of the Constitutional Convention of 1849; and to the many other friends who by words of encouragement and kindly coöperation have rendered assistance in the preparation of the volume now presented to the public.

ROCKWELL D. HUNT.

Los Angeles, California.

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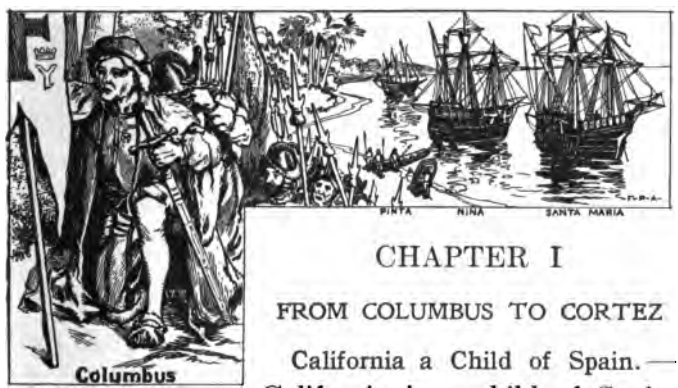
THE STATE CAPITOL AT SACRAMENTO

CALIFORNIA THE GOLDEN

PART ONE

THE SPANISH PIONEERS



CHAPTER I

FROM COLUMBUS TO CORTEZ

California a Child of Spain.— California is a child of Spain. In discovery, early exploration, and colonization Spain was the pioneer nation of the New World. In Europe she was without an equal among nations; in America her opportunity was matchless. "They were Spaniards who first saw and explored the greatest gulf in the world; Spaniards who discovered the two greatest rivers;

Spaniards who first knew that there were two continents of America; Spaniards who first went around the world!"

The Discovery by Christopher Columbus. — When on the twelfth day of October, 1492, Columbus, his heart beating fast with emotion, landed from the *Santa Maria* upon Watling, one of the easternmost of the Bahama Islands, he was firm in the belief that he was on the outskirts of Asia. Grateful to God and true to his mission, he reverently knelt on that new-found shore while in prayer he returned thanks to Heaven; then he took formal possession of the country in the name of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain.

Columbus lived more than thirteen years after this illustrious event, and died at last without the knowledge that he had discovered a great, new hemisphere. But this ignorance does not detract from the splendor of his achievement or dim the luster of his name. His discovery of America was one of the greatest events in history. Poetic imagination had long pictured vast unexplored regions in the distant west. Vague stories were told of fabulous voyages by Arabs across the Atlantic and by Chinese across the Pacific. The *sagas* of Iceland gave accounts of discoveries by the Northmen as early as the tenth century. But to Columbus belongs the glory of realizing

vague beliefs, of settling doubts about the shape of the earth, and of linking together the Old World and the New.

Vasco da Gama's Trip to India. — To gain the wealth

QUEEN ISABELLA

of India had become the desire of European nations. As the art of navigation rapidly improved with the coming of modern times, the hope of reaching the Far East by water was greatly heightened. While Columbus was seeking for Spain the Northwest

Passage to India, Vasco da Gama, by going in the opposite direction, was discovering a Southeast Passage for Portugal. In 1498 he succeeded in turning the Cape of Good Hope and reached the goal. When he returned to Portugal, his ships bearing spices, silks, ivory and precious stones, and his heart filled with a boundless hope, no one could doubt that he had indeed been to India.

COAT OF ARMS OF COLUMBUS

Columbus bent every energy to find some strait leading into the Indian Ocean from the Caribbean Sea, and because he failed his reputation suffered severely. His last days were spent in sickness and poverty, and he died (1506) in the belief that, while he had not reached the mainland of Asia nor discovered its wealth, he had really found the shortest route to India.

Spain Renews Her Efforts to Reach India. — The extravagant notions held in Europe about the wealth of India would not let the Spaniards rest until they should try every means of reaching the heart of that country, which they longed to explore and conquer in the name of their sovereigns. Now

that Vasco da Gama had shown that the wealth of the Orient could be reached by sea, and Columbus had proved that land could be reached by sailing west, Spain was spurred on to renewed efforts to discover the great highway of the Pacific.

The idea that America was really a new world began to prevail. Even before Columbus died

LANDS WHICH COLUMBUS DISCOVERED
Marked in white on the map

many were convinced of its truth, and before long the belief in the great Western Hemisphere was firmly rooted. Nevertheless it was many years, and even generations, before the real character of America became known and Europe learned the actual size of the "South Sea" or Pacific Ocean. Those hardy navigators through whose explorations the outlines of our continent gradually became known will ever be remembered with gratitude

by the people who have enjoyed the fruits of their efforts.

Balboa Discovers the Pacific. — Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, a Spaniard of most adventurous spirit even from his boyhood, was made governor of a small colony on the Isthmus of Darien. There he heard vague reports of a sea to the southwest; accordingly he set out in 1513 to prove the truth of these rumors. For nearly three weeks he pressed forward, fighting his way through dense forests tangled with great vines, encountering hostile tribes of Indians, and climbing over steep and rocky hills under a tropical sun, until at length he called a halt at the foot of a mountain peak. Bidding his men remain behind, he eagerly scaled the final height, and what a splendid reward was his for persevering in the exhausting march! Alone he stood and beheld the glittering waters of the broad Pacific. Never before had the eyes of a white man rested upon that inspiring scene.

Quickly joined by his heroic comrades, Balboa descended with unspeakable joy to the beach. Then under the banner of Castile, armor-clad, he waded into the waters, and raising aloft his naked sword, he solemnly took possession in the name of Spain of the wide ocean and all the shores it might touch. This great discovery, made ninety-four years before Captain John Smith landed at James-

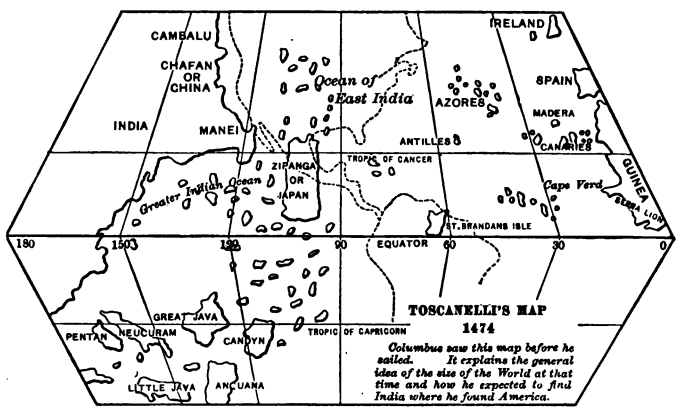
town and one hundred and seven years before the Pilgrim Fathers set foot on Plymouth Rock, has been ranked next in importance to the great discovery by Columbus. Like his illustrious predecessor, Balboa afterwards met with ill fortune, and was at last beheaded on a charge of revolt.

The discovery of the Pacific added greatly to the Spaniards' desire to reach India by water. Many zealous attempts were made to find a passage through Panama and Central America, but alas! no such passage was ever found.

Magellan Explores the Pacific Ocean. — The first explorer to enter the Pacific was Fernando Magellan, who in 1520 sailed through the straits that now bear his name, on the famous expedition that went round the world. Magellan was a Portuguese in Spanish service, and he it was who gave the Pacific Ocean its name, as with proud heart he entered its apparently placid waters. After months of peril on unknown seas he reached the group of islands now so well known to us as the Philippines. As if pursued by the same cruel

MAGELLAN

fate that had overtaken Columbus and Balboa, Magellan was killed on one of these islands, and thus never permitted to enjoy the fruits of his remarkable discoveries. But his companions sailed round the Cape of Good Hope and at last reached their home land in 1522, after an expedition lasting eleven hundred and twenty-four days.



A MAP THAT COLUMBUS STUDIED
The dotted lines show the actual outlines of the then unknown continents

There could no longer be a doubt as to the shape of the earth — it had been circumnavigated. For the first time the East Indies had been reached by sailing west. In all history there have been few expeditions more wonderful than this under Magellan, or more important in their results. Indeed, Dr. Draper has called it " the greatest achievement in the history of the human race."

Hernando Cortez Conquers Mexico. — While Magellan's ships were plowing the untried waters of the Pacific, brave Hernando Cortez was conquering Mexico. Mexico had for a long time been inhabited by the most powerful people in the New World. They possessed a high degree of courage and had made considerable progress toward real civilization. Soon after the discovery of this interesting country by Grijalva, Cortez had been intrusted with its conquest: he accordingly sailed from Cuba, which had already been claimed for the crown of Spain, in the month of November, 1518.

Cortez was a member of a noble Spanish family. He had sailed to Santo Domingo early in 1504, and there, after several well-merited promotions, had earned the reputation of a model soldier. He was one of the world's greatest explorers and conquerors, and was yet to render valiant service for California.

Mexico and Her People. — Landing on the coast of Mexico, March 4, 1519, Cortez founded the settlement of Vera Cruz (True Cross) on the site where to-day stands the city of that name. The simple-hearted natives were utterly astonished, and it is not surprising that many of them thought the Spaniards were gods. Mexico was not a real empire, as many have supposed, but it was a kind of complex democracy with a military government, and

with a social and political organization like that of the Pueblo Indians of the present day. The great " palaces " of the war chiefs, about which so many marvelous stories have been told, were in reality only huge habitations made of adobe. Remains of some of these buildings are still standing, forming interesting relics of the days before the coming of the Spaniards.

The Founding of New Spain. — Cortez had an army of about seven hundred men; with this small force he was to conquer a great country. Could he succeed? Having set fire to his ships, so that retreat would be impossible, he began his famous march through the wilderness into the heart of Mexico. Because of his surprising skill as a general and his personal bravery, the campaign was one of great vigor and brilliancy. He took Montezuma, the most powerful of the war chiefs, prisoner, made friends of many of the tribes, discovered rich mines, and made himself master of the vast, new colony. Emperor Charles V rewarded him from Europe with the commission of Governor and Captain-General of all Mexico, or New Spain, as it was then called.

But it is Cortez's connection with California that is of chief interest to us; and now, at length, we are ready to trace that thrilling story.

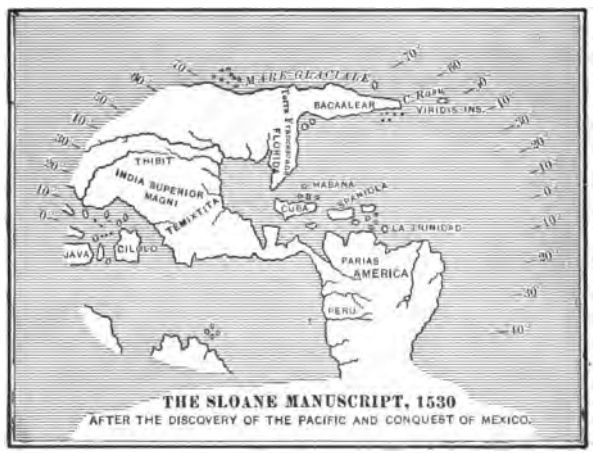
CHAPTER II

FROM CORTEZ TO CABRILLO

Explorations Prompted by Lure of Gold. — Strange stories of northern lands came to the ears of Cortez; and since there were tales of unlimited wealth and treasure, the Spanish Governor of Mexico was not slow in deciding to explore those unknown regions. The most powerful motive with many of the Spanish explorers was admirably expressed in a remark which Cortez is said to have made to some native Mexicans: "We Spaniards are troubled with a disease of the heart for which we find gold, and gold only, a specific remedy." The gold and precious stones, which he hoped to find lying about as common as pebbles, lured Cortez and many another Spaniard into enterprises filled with incredible hardships, leading the fortunate few to lasting fame, but many more to defeat and to unknown graves.

Cortez Plans Expeditions. — At his own expense Cortez ordered four ships to be built at Zacatula, but before they were ready for the sea a fire broke out, and in a few hours everything was in ruins. The brave man was not discouraged.

But so great were the difficulties of securing suitable materials for new ships in southern Mexico and so serious were the other obstacles which he encountered, that it was five years more before his four ships were launched, and even then the orders of the Emperor prevented three of them



AN EARLY MAP OF THE NEW WORLD

from carrying out the intention of the Governor. So it was 1528 when the smallest of the four set sail alone from Zacatula under command of Pedro Nuñez Maldonado, who had been superintendent of the shipyard.

Maldonado's Discoveries. — Maldonado entered upon an exploring expedition of six months, pro-

ceeding slowly northward along the coast and carefully surveying the shores. But he only reached the Santiago River, which is many leagues south of the extremity of Lower California. Nevertheless he had made a good start toward the north, and, better yet, he brought back glowing accounts of the fertile soil he had found and of the great abundance of precious metals of which he had heard. Under such circumstances California could not long remain undiscovered.

Two new ships were completed. The command was given by Cortez to Diego de Mendoza and Juan de Mazuela, who left Acapulco in June, 1532. But terrible mutiny, Indian massacres and fierce gales caused this expedition to end in failure and disaster.

The intrepid Cortez promptly ordered yet two more ships to be built with all haste. These sailed the next year from Tehuantepec under command of Captains Mendoza and Grijalva: but encountering a storm the second night out, Grijalva was driven far out to sea and thus separated from Mendoza. They were never reunited.

Lower California Discovered.—Grijalva sailed about three hundred leagues and discovered a desert island, which he named Santo Tomas. But it is Mendoza's ship, *La Concepción*, that should be specially remembered, because it carried the dis-

coverers of California. The commander himself was killed by mutineers, but his chief pilot, Fortuno Ximenez, took charge, directed his ship away from the coast, and, crossing the unknown waters of the Gulf of California, discovered the interior coast of Lower California in 1534, or late in 1533. It is possible that one of the earlier expeditions had come within sight of this land: but California, thought then to be an island, was made known to the world through the expedition of Ximenez in his good ship *La Concepción*, belonging to Cortez.

It is doubtless disappointing to be reminded that this was not California at all, the Golden State in which we take so much pride, but only Baja (Lower) California, so inferior in every respect to Alta (Upper) California, the land of our great Commonwealth.

How then did our fair land come to be discovered? Events hastened. Cortez rendered still further service by personally discovering Santa Cruz Bay, by carefully surveying and naming the peninsula of California, and by breasting the waters of the North Pacific. He was a brave soldier and a fearless sailor, a patient explorer and an enterprising conqueror. So it is all the more sad that he failed at last to find the gold he had spent a fortune in seeking, and that his moral weakness brought

him to ruin after his heroic sacrifices and splendid conquests.

Ulloa's Explorations. — Francisco de Ulloa deserves much credit for having skirted the eastern shore of Lower California and then having sailed up the

A SPANISH SHIP

outward coast, proving the country to be a great peninsula.

Discovery of Alta California. — We come at length to the illustrious name of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo. It was the twenty-seventh day of June, 1542, when with two ships under his command he sailed from Navidad under the authority of the Viceroy of New Spain. Quickly reaching Santa Cruz, he pro-

ceeded thence along the interior coast until August 20, when he passed Cabo del Engaño (Cape of Deceit), now called Cape Bajo (Low Cape). At length, with some misgiving but with high hope, he entered the northern waters, on which Spanish vessels had never sailed. Near the end of September he passed the Coronado Islands, entered the beautiful San Diego Bay and there enjoyed with his brave men a well-deserved rest. Thus to Cabrillo, another Portuguese navigator in Spanish service, belongs the distinguished honor of the discovery of Alta California, " being the first white man, so far as we have any positive information, who laid his eyes or placed his feet upon its soil." — HITTELL.

OLD MONTEREY CYPRESS

After exploring several of the islands near the coast, Cabrillo continued in a northwesterly course, the voyage being full of interest and important discoveries. About the middle of November he reached Point Pinos (Point of Pines). Rounding this cape he sailed directly into the now world-renowned Monterey Bay. The heavy sea prevented

his landing; so onward he pressed to the north until he came almost in sight of the noble harbor of San Francisco. But he was not permitted to discover that magnificent port: the stormy weather of early winter and gloomy prospects in unknown waters turned him away. Having returned to the Santa Barbara Islands, he died January 3, 1543, and was succeeded by his pilot Bartolomé Ferrelo.

MONTEREY BAY

Ferrelo's Expedition. — Ferrelo, after sorrowfully burying his dead commander and wisely waiting till the severity of winter was broken, obeyed a last order of his superior, and with favoring winds from the south made all haste to continue the exploration northward. On the last day of February he discovered and named Cape Mendoza,

now Cape Mendocino. Speeding on before the gale he came in sight of Cape Blanco, in south Oregon, on the first of March. But now the low state of his provisions and the chilling weather compelled him to turn again with reluctance toward the southland.

Ferrelo deserves much credit for having so successfully carried out the orders of his dead commander, which led to his exploring the coast up to the present boundary of Oregon. But it is to the great Cabrillo himself that the honor must be given for the discovery of our western coast line, the coast that now fittingly marks the bounds of our glorious Union of States. Few navigators deserve higher tribute than Cabrillo, who gave himself a sacrifice to the cause he cherished.

CHAPTER III

CALIFORNIA — THE LAND OF AMAZONS AND GOLD

Ancient Stories of Amazons. — It is to the illustrious Cortez himself that we owe not only the important discoveries along the Pacific coast but also the name by which our great state is known — the name California.

Whence came this name? For what reason was it bestowed upon the newly found country?

The first account that we have of "California" is a fanciful picture of a wonderful island abounding in gold and precious stones and inhabited by Amazons. Amazons figure in many a tale that is much more ancient than this one. Even as far back as the Greek mythology there are stories about a race of warlike women who would not permit men to dwell among them.

The story of the Amazons of California comes to us from a celebrated romance entitled "The Deeds of Esplandian, the Son of Amadis of Gaul," which was published in Spain as early as 1510. It is a charming fairy tale:

"Know, then, that on the right hand of the Indies there is an island called California, very close to the side of the Terres-

trial Paradise, and it was peopled by black women, without any man among them, for they lived in the fashion of Amazons. They were of strong and hardened bodies, of ardent courage and great force. The island was the strongest in the world from its steep rocks and great cliffs. Their arms were all of gold, and so was the harness of the wild beasts which they tamed and rode. For, in the whole island, there was no metal but gold. . . . In this island, called California, there were many griffins, on account of the great ruggedness of the country and its infinite host of wild beasts, such as never were seen in any other part of the world. . . . Every man who landed on the island was immediately devoured by these griffins."

Calafia, Queen of the Amazons. — The queen of this wonderful island of California, whose name was Calafia, was very black, "very large in person, the most beautiful of all of them, of blooming years, and in her thoughts desirous of achieving great things, strong of limb and of great courage, more than any of those who had filled her throne before her."

After much fighting, in an alliance with the pagans, at the head of her armed women and five hundred fire-breathing griffins, she was finally led to become a Christian. Then she sought from Emperor Amadis a comely prince to be her husband. The romance ends with this tantalizing statement:

"What happened to them afterwards I must be excused from telling, for they passed through many strange achievements of the greatest valor, they fought many battles, they gained many kingdoms, of which, if we should give the story, there would be danger that we should never have done."

This thrilling romance, "most fictitious of fiction," was the novel of Cortez's day. To read it was the style for Spaniards of those times. In it the name "California" occurs three times, referring to the island of fable, where precious stones were like the stones of the field for abundance, and gold was the only metal. It is certain that the early Spanish explorers were in search of fabulous wealth and that they entertained wild fancies about the wealth of eastern Asia, which they believed to be near Mexico. It was these strange notions of yet stranger lands that led to the discovery of the real California.

New Region Named California. — But why was the name of Calafia's Amazon island given to the barren shores of Lower California? Nobody knows. If brave Cortez could have viewed the beautiful gardens that Nature had planted in Alta California, and could have known of the untold wealth of gold that Providence had bestowed upon this fair land, the explanation would be clear and plain. But Upper California was wholly unknown to the Spaniards when the name was given, and its vast riches were a profound secret even to its native Indians.

It may be that there were rumors of gold in that territory even in those early days. The natives of Mexico were the occasion of the Spaniards encountering many a peril and many a hardship by

their weird stories of gold in the far northland. Or it may be that the sailors, growing discontented and almost mutinous because of their sufferings and gloomy prospects, were skillfully put in better spirits and greatly encouraged by Cortez when he gave the name of the fabulous land of gold to that land of little promise. In such a time much depends on a name. That of California, as an omen of wealth, might have been given for the same reason that a pioneer names his new frontier home "Eden," or a lonely rancher calls his home "Paradise Valley." It helps to screw up the courage and to strengthen the forlorn hope. Visions of unlimited gold floated like a charm in that magical name "California."

Meaning of the Name California. — Learned men have tried hard and long to find the true meaning of the word, but after all their labors it still remains in doubt. The name is thought by some to come from the Greek language; others think it is Latin; and still others think it is Spanish or Indian in origin. Every one may take turns at guessing; but we are most likely to be correct if we guess that nobody will ever find out for certain precisely what the name California does mean, or just why the name was applied to the barren shores of the southern peninsula. It seems very reasonable to think that the name was derived from the Spanish words mean-

ing "a hot oven," or "a fiery furnace;" but in the absence of the actual record we may make a thousand guesses, and they will be only guesses still.

This much is certain: the beautiful name and the land that bears it so proudly are both our own. The hardy Spanish explorers wrought for another people. They were not permitted to gather the golden harvest of their patient planting. We Americans, their successors, have realized their most alluring dreams. Upon us rests the obligation of guarding well their priceless legacy — California the Golden.

CHAPTER IV

THE MYSTERIOUS PASSAGE

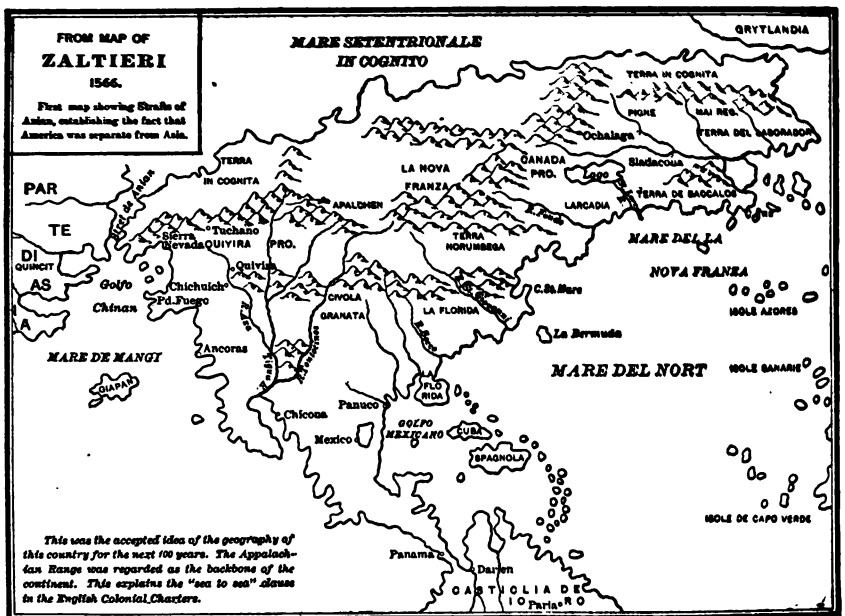
Mystery of the Northwest Passage. — The achievement of Columbus, great and splendid as it was, did not solve the mystery of the Northwest Passage. Little by little the character and extent of the New World were being made known, but great truths are revealed only to minds and hearts that are prepared for them. Complete knowledge can be reached, if reached at all, only after the price is paid — the price of toil and sacrifice and waiting.

How the Spaniards longed and labored to find the fabled passage from the Atlantic to the South Sea! Balboa's discovery of the Pacific and Magellan's discovery of the Philippine Islands caused many navigators that came after them to redouble their energy in the zealous search for the supposed passage, called the Straits of Anian.

Belief in the Straits of Anian. — Of the existence of the Straits there appears to have been for a long time no shadow of a doubt in the minds of men. They were reported as first discovered by a Portuguese, named Gaspar Cortereal, in the year 1500.

Everybody believed the report, partly no doubt because it was so pleasant a thought. Their rediscovery became the object of diligent and repeated search from the side of the Pacific as well as from the Atlantic. This was one of the objects of the Cortez expeditions. "All explorers who desired to add glory to their names searched for the mysterious passage; and many returning adventurers on the high seas professed either to have seen the strait, or else to have sailed through it." — BLACKMAR.

Lorenzo de Maldonado's False Reports. — Some of these bold explorers, whose keen imaginations far outran the limits of strict truth-telling, professed to trace the course of the channel to the smallest details, drawing maps of crooked windings and indented shore lines. Andres de Urdaneta was one of these. But the chief offender in this phantom chase was Lorenzo de Maldonado, who pretended that in 1588 he had sailed from Portugal to Labrador, then westward through the Straits of Anian to the Pacific, and back again to the Atlantic! His report showed every crook and turn and was so complete and ingenious that when it came to light nearly two centuries after Maldonado's death, and long after it had been positively proved that such a passage had no real existence, several learned Frenchmen announced themselves believers



MAP SHOWING SUPPOSED LOCATION OF THE STRAITS OF ANIAN
Northwest of the continent of America, separating it from Asia

in the old stories, and the whole subject was again opened for public dispute.

Supposed Location of the Passage. — The question as to just where the supposed strait was located was much discussed, and the answer was full of uncertainty and not at all satisfactory. Some thought it was south of Mexico; but it came to be the general belief that it must be somewhere north and not south of Mexico. This shows how vague and mysterious the whole matter really was.

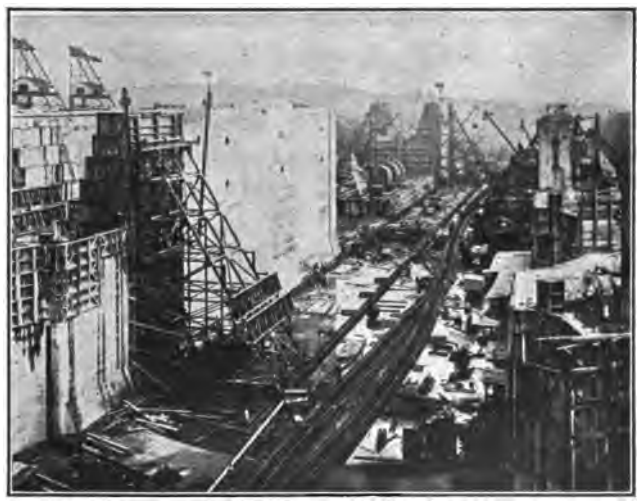
Certain papers that were delivered to King Philip II of Spain give remarkable particulars of the course of some foreigners who were driven by storm from Newfoundland, and passed to the South Sea by the Straits of Anian, "which lie beyond Cape Mendocino." There can be no doubt that bold navigators closely examined the coast line of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, Hudson's Bay, Baffin's Bay and many rivers on the Atlantic seaboard in the vain hope of sailing westward to the Pacific. It is equally certain that Puget Sound, the great gulfs and inlets of the Northwest Territory and southern Alaska, and in fact the entire western coast of America, were carefully explored in the great search for the Northwest Passage to India. With a modern map of our wide continent before us it now seems almost laughable to imagine

ocean-going vessels sailing majestically up the Hudson or the James or the Potomac, their commanders gravely keeping an expectant lookout for the far-off Pacific. But the queer scene must be tinged with an element of pathos, and there is a spirit of real heroism in the picture. Spain was especially zealous in her efforts along the Pacific coast, for she feared that some rival nation might secure the prize.

Indirect Benefits from the Search. — As the search went on year after year, at the cost of many expeditions and the sacrifice of untold human life, the phantom strait continued ever to retreat into the mists and to baffle the bravest and best sailors. Yet their labors were not in vain. Their own keen desires were not to be gratified, but they did succeed in laying open vast regions of rich but hitherto unknown country for occupation and settlement, and they greatly extended men's knowledge of the earth. They builded for later generations; they wrought well for advancing civilization.

Explorations of Vitus Bering. — In 1728 Vitus Bering sailed into the Arctic Ocean through the strait that now bears his name. He was a Danish navigator in the service of Russia, and had been sent out by the farseeing Czar, Peter the Great. It was only natural that some should make it appear

that Bering Strait was really the Straits of Anian; but a larger number believed that the mysterious passage was associated with Admiralty Bay, which is a branch of Puget Sound extending far inland.



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WORK ON THE GATUN DAM, PANAMA CANAL

The Northwest Passage Never Found. — It must be admitted that the Northwest Passage, which was the object of much honest searching for several centuries, has not been found to this day. But California and the other great states along the Pacific have long since been fully explored throughout their length and breadth. A wonderful net-

work of railroads and telegraph wires binds all closely together; and now at last the marvelous Panama Canal, by connecting Pacific and Atlantic and so bringing the Orient almost face to face with the Occident, will splendidly play the part that was to have been taken by the mysterious passage.

CHAPTER V

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE AND DON SEBASTIAN VIZCAINO

Long Period of Inactivity in Exploration. — What a long, long time it was from the discovery of Alta California till the first real settlement within its borders by white persons! Two hundred and twenty-seven years passed wearily by from that September day when Cabrillo sailed proudly into San Diego Bay before Captain Portolá and Father Serra succeeded in making a permanent settlement on the shores of that selfsame beautiful harbor.

During all these years the wide-reaching interior of Golden California remained an unknown land. There was indeed but little found out about even the coast line. But it would be a great mistake to suppose that the inviting land was ever wholly forgotten. Many vessels, bearing flags of different nations, sailed along our western shores for greater or less distances, and princes of Europe never lost sight of their plans to colonize the country. Had they but understood how boundless were its riches, the active work of settlement would have been begun much earlier and carried on far more rapidly.

Sir Francis Drake. — Of the many early expeditions in the waters of the Pacific after the discovery of Alta California — it would be tiresome to recount them all — probably none was more important than that of Francis Drake, a daring British navigator, commencing in December, 1577. With the personal assistance of his great sovereign Queen Elizabeth, Drake set out with the purpose of plundering any Spanish vessels he might overtake on the Pacific. Of the five ships that sailed forth from Plymouth only two passed through the Straits of Magellan, the others having deserted Drake. One of the two remaining ships was soon lost. The *Pelican*, or the *Golden Hind* as she was thenceforth called, alone pointed her bows toward the north Pacific, bearing the intrepid captain and crew.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

Much booty was taken from ship and port. From a single Spanish ship at Panama there were seized, as Drake himself tells us in his record, "besides fruit, sugar, meal and other provisions,

eighty pounds' weight of gold, thirteen chests of silver coin, twenty-six tons of unrefined silver and a quantity of jewels, plate and precious stones." And this was but one of his many captures.

The *Golden Hind* now being laden with plunder, Drake feared to return to Europe through the Straits of Magellan lest indignant Spanish captains lying there in wait might seize his ship and make him prisoner. So onward he sailed to the north, hoping he might discover that mysterious passage, the Straits of Anian, and thence return in safety to the Atlantic and home.

Discovery of Sir Francis Drake Bay. — Like others both before and after his time, he sailed by the beautiful Golden Gate without dreaming that just within lay one of the world's finest harbors. On and on sped the *Golden Hind* until Drake had reached the latitude of southern Oregon, where Cabrillo's pilot Ferrelo had been a generation before him. The bad weather, bitter cold and a leaking ship compelled Drake to turn again toward the south. On June 17, 1579, he came to anchor in "a convenient and fit harbor" near Point Reyes, where he remained for more than a month, repairing and refitting his vessel. For many years it was generally believed that this anchorage was made in San Francisco Bay, but it is now well known that the Golden Gate had

not been entered, and that the place of shelter sought was what is known to us as Sir Francis Drake Bay, at a distance of about thirty miles to the northwest of San Francisco.

New Albion. — Drake became deeply interested in the native Indians he found, and they in turn looked upon him as a superior being, paying him royal if not divine honors. He called the country "New Albion" and claimed it for England. Before taking his departure from the harbor that had proved such a boon, Drake, thinking himself to be the real discoverer, set up a large post, upon which was nailed a brass plate engraved with the name of England's great queen, the date, the submission of the natives and his own name. Then he made ready to leave Alta California.

Still fearful of the Spanish at the south, he determined to circumnavigate the globe and return home by way of the Cape of Good Hope. On September 26, 1580, after an absence of nearly three years, he arrived at Plymouth, the starting point. The world had been encompassed by this daring and brilliant Englishman.

Spain Renews Explorations. — Philip III, the new king of Spain, was not at all willing to have the Spanish captains in the Pacific any longer run the risk of being plundered by Drake and other English privateers. He therefore gave orders in

the year 1599, shortly after coming to his throne, directing the Viceroy of New Spain (Mexico) to search the coasts of the Californias diligently, at public cost, for a safe and secure harbor, in which

CYPRESS POINT, NEAR MONTEREY

ships from the Philippine Islands might find protection and on whose shores a town might be founded.

Don Sebastian Vizcaino. — The result of the royal decree was that Don Sebastian Vizcaino sailed from Acapulco in the good ship *San Diego*, followed by two others, on May 5, 1602. This proved to be one of the most memorable voyages in California history, especially so because later generations felt so dependent on Vizcaino's records as a guide to further explorations.

Proceeding slowly and carefully surveying the important points, it was six months before Vizcaino entered San Diego harbor, where Cabrillo had been just sixty years before. San Diego Bay was found to be an excellent and beautiful harbor as well as a very large one; but its full value to California and the world was not understood for many generations after Vizcaino's visit.

AVALON BAY, SANTA CATALINA

Santa Catalina, the lovely island which Cabrillo had discovered and named Victoria, was next visited by Vizcaino. Further information gained concerning the Indians there and their strange habits and manner of life proved exceedingly interesting. Little did Don Sebastian dream, as

he entered and named San Pedro Bay, of the marvelous improvements and active commercial life that were to be added thereto at a later day by the hands of a new and powerful people.

In Monterey Bay. — The event that proved to be the most important of this memorable voyage occurred on December 15, when Vizcaino's ship rounded Point Pinos and sailed into Monterey Bay. On landing, the *Te Deum* was chanted under a great tree, long known as the Oak of Vizcaino, the spreading branches of which were said to overhang the beach.

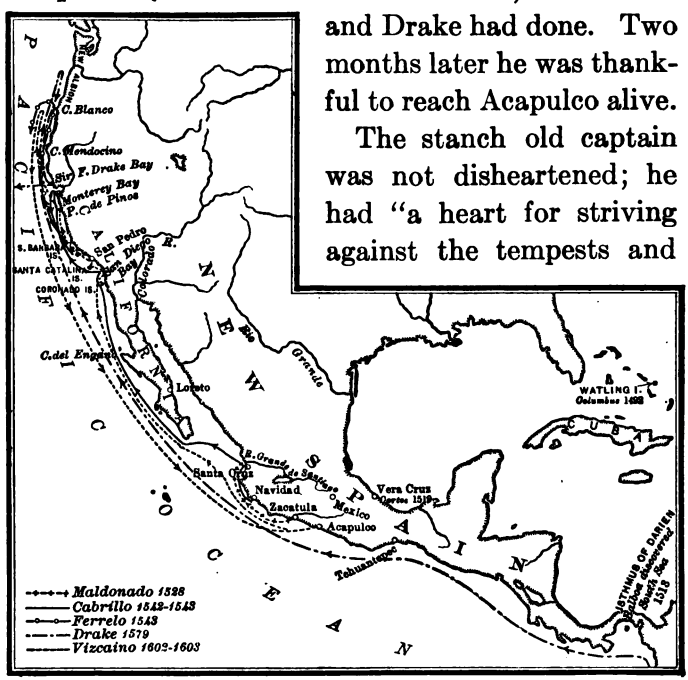
The captain and his men carefully noted the aspect of the country about Monterey — its great pines and aged oaks, its pleasing hills and lovely dales. They were impressed with the great abundance of wild game of all kinds, from the grizzly bear whose footprints were nine inches broad and the elk whose antlers measured three yards across, to the myriads of geese, ducks and quail.

Vizcaino's Expedition Ended. — On January 3d, 1603, sails were again spread, and this time Cape Mendocino was the object of search. The point was reached; but the storm king raged furiously, and the earth could not be seen for heavy mists that had settled down. For days Vizcaino was almost at the mercy of the gale.

At length, on the twentieth of January, the

weather cleared as Cape Blanco appeared in sight. But alas! the crew were in a sorry plight from scurvy and other complaints. Brave Don Sebastian was compelled to turn toward the south, as Ferrelo and Drake had done. Two months later he was thankful to reach Acapulco alive.

The stanch old captain was not disheartened; he had "a heart for striving against the tempests and



MAP SHOWING EXPLORATIONS ALONG THE COAST OF MEXICO AND THE CALIFORNIAS

calms of the sea." So after making a full report of his explorations to the Viceroy, he begged an opportunity to return to California with sufficient equipment to make there a permanent settlement.

But such opportunity was not to be his: by the time King Philip had been persuaded to give a tardy assent to fitting out a new expedition, Vizcaino found himself too old and worn out by toil and infirmities to undertake its leadership. "With him were buried all prospects for the carrying out of the design he had done so much to encourage and promote."

Inactivity in Exploration after Vizcaino. — For more than three-quarters of a century no Spanish expedition of importance visited California. Indeed more than a hundred and sixty years passed before the dream of Vizcaino for a permanent settlement in Alta California was realized in the founding of the mission of San Diego. The famous voyage of 1602, however, long stood as a landmark, beckoning the way; and explorers of later generations placed much dependence on the report of Sebastian Vizcaino.

PART TWO

BEFORE THE GRINGO CAME

CHAPTER VI

THE ORIGINAL CALIFORNIANS

The Native Races of America. — The native races of America were called Indians because of the mistake Columbus made in thinking he had reached the outlying East Indies, when in reality he had discovered the New World. The scores of nations and tribes of red men represented a great variety of culture, but not one tribe of them all was entitled to be called civilized in the full sense of that word. Even the Aztecs of Mexico, the Pueblos of New Mexico, and the Incas of Peru, races formerly believed to be highly civilized, were in reality only barbarians. They might build houses of adobe, or even stone, cultivate corn, domesti-

INDIAN PAPOOSE

cate animals; they could weave baskets to perfection and make beautiful works of pottery; perhaps some had even learned the process of smelting iron and of writing by means of rude symbolic

A BASKET WEAVER

pictures: but in spite of all this none had discovered a true alphabet based upon sound and none knew the use of written composition.

Aborigines of Lower California.— In the scale of culture we find the native Indian of Lower California almost at the very bottom. These wretched

people were among the lowest, most degraded and brutish races of savage humanity. Father Venegas, the Jesuit historian who saw them in their rude native state, used these words to describe them:

"The characteristics of the Californians are stupidity and insensibility; want of knowledge and reflection; inconstancy, impetuosity and blindness of appetite; an excessive sloth and abhorrence of all labor and fatigue; an incessant love of pleasure and amusement of every kind, however trifling or brutal; the utmost extent of their desires is to get the present day's food without much fatigue, taking little care for that of the ensuing day."

They were truly a people that never arrived at manhood. What wonder, then, that those early Jesuit missionaries, though zealous and devoted, made such a slight impression, working as they did in a land of poverty and barrenness for the uplift of a people who seemed scarcely above the brutes.

Many Tribes of Alta California. — California is now known far and wide for the great variety of its productions. In an earlier day it supported more numerous tribes of Indians than any territory of like area in America. These tribes differed considerably from one another in their mode of life and in their peculiar traits, and still more widely from the Eastern tribes of red men. Yet all belonged to one great family — the North American Indians.

Unlike the Red Men of the East. — To the realistic Indian of California the idea of the Great Spirit was wanting: he looked forward to no Happy Hunting Ground in the after world. "For the indolent Californian, reared in his balmy clime, knows nothing of the fierce joy of the Dakota hunter, but believes in a heaven of . . . ease and luxury." — POWERS. The genuine copper color and haughty countenance, marked by aquiline nose and bold forehead; the gayly-feathered calumet, the far-famed tomahawk and the hideous display of gory scalp-lock — these marks of the noble red men of the East were almost wholly wanting among the dusky sons of California.

Incorrectly Called "Diggers." — These Indians have been called "Diggers." But it is neither just nor reasonable to apply this term of reproach and contempt to the numerous tribes of Californian Indians, differing so widely from one another. "'Diggers' was at first probably applied to a small tribe of root eaters or root diggers, and afterwards quickly extended to apply to many tribes in different localities and made a synonym of everything low and degrading." The term is as unjust as "Rat eaters" would be if applied to Chinamen. And besides, there were certain tribes, as the Apaches, who lived more on roots than did the Indians of California.

Tribes of Northern California. — The tribes in the

northern part of Alta California, including the Klamaths, Modocs, Shastas and many others, were in every way superior to those to the southward. They were described as "tall, muscular, and well made, with a complexion varying from nearly black to light brown, in proportion to their proximity to or distance from the ocean or other large bodies of water; their face is large, oval and heavily made, with slightly prominent cheek bone; nose well set on the face and frequently straight, and eyes . . . keen and bright. The women are short and some of them quite handsome, even in the Caucasian sense of the word." — BANCROFT.

AN INDIAN OF NORTHERN CALIFORNIA

Central Californians. — In central California there were innumerable little bands of Indians, but no marked division into large tribes. Valleys like Napa and Sonoma probably contained six or more of those little tribal bands. One pioneer tells us that at the San Francisco mission alone nineteen different languages were spoken by the Indian converts. The central Californian knew no regular form of industry, had an extremely rude dwelling,

and lived a life very low in the scale of culture. In times of plenty he was exceedingly lazy. Indeed for many of the men life was continual idleness, "lying stretched out upon the ground, doing absolutely nothing, roaming about from hut to hut, playing, dancing or sleeping."

Southern Californians. — As we approach the southern boundary of Alta California we observe a slight improvement over the central Californians. In the south the people, with small exception, seem to have been more expert in the manufacture of various articles. Children were more systematically instructed and aged persons more highly venerated. All took the greatest delight in the dance.

Indian Dress. — The dress of the California Indian was most primitive and with a majority of tribes very scanty. A kind of loose wrapper thrown round the waist was usually the only garment. An otter or deer skin was often added in the winter time. In some instances a close-fitting skirt was plaited or woven with the feathers of water-fowl so as to give a downy surface on both sides. In the warmer plains and valleys the women had only a short apron made of rushes or *tules*, while it was quite common for the men and children to go entirely without clothing. In the colder hours of a wintry day, however, many had the habit of plastering themselves over with mud in order to

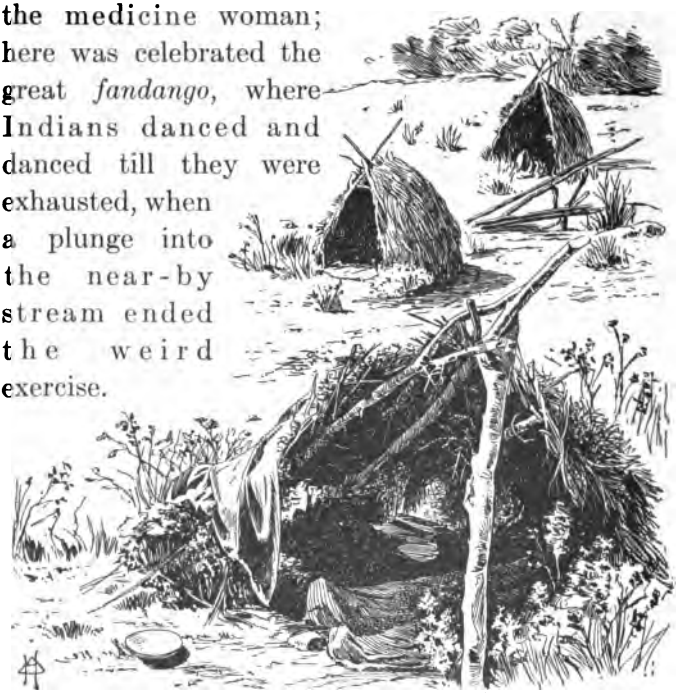
keep out the cold; this mud they washed off as the temperature rose.

Ornamentation. — The Californian was fond of ornaments. Tattooing the body was much in favor, and this was practiced more by women than by men. The most valued ornaments included bits of carved wood worn as earrings, strings of shell beads and bands of feathers bound around the head. The tail feathers of the golden-winged woodpecker, the large black feathers of the eagle and the crests of the mountain quail were much sought after and highly prized. A band of woodpecker feathers might number five hundred individual feathers: and when we remember that but two of these can be obtained from one bird, we understand why the labor and time of collecting them gave the ornament its high value.

Villages and Dwellings.—Most tribes of the original Californians dwelt in comical little houses called *wikiups*, which were usually shaped like a bowl turned upside down. A large number of these rude dwellings grouped together on the bank of some stream formed a village, or *rancheria*. A very large *rancheria*, such as the one where the town of Placerville now stands, might contain in all ten hundred or twelve hundred Indians.

The assembly chamber of the *rancheria* was called the *temescal*. This odd structure, which may

also have answered the purpose of the village bath-house and medicine room, was in almost every instance situated near the brink of a stream of running water. It was partly underground; shaped like a great inverted bowl, built of strong poles and branches of trees heavily plastered with mud, and so completely closed as to be almost air-tight. Here the council of the men was held; here the sick were treated by the medicine man or the medicine woman; here was celebrated the great *fandango*, where Indians danced and danced till they were exhausted, when a plunge into the near-by stream ended the weird exercise.



INDIAN WIKIUPS

Food. — Food there was in great variety, and usually in great abundance. While their diet consisted chiefly of many kinds of roots, berries and seeds, many varieties of game were also used, and sometimes great quantities of fish were eaten

INDIAN GRANARIES IN YOSEMITE

— for in fishing the Indians showed both skill and patience. Acorns were a staple; pine nuts were a general favorite; grasshoppers and young yellow-jackets were toothsome delicacies. The Indian's cunning instinct also taught him the use of the snare and the pit in capturing larger game, such as the deer and the antelope. Not being over-

particular in his tastes, Nature spread for him a table laden with a great variety of food.

Population. — It is known that at one time, before the coming of the white men, many thousands of Indians made their home in the land we now call Cali-

PRIMITIVE LIFE IN CALIFORNIA

fornia; a denser population, without doubt, than any like area of North America supported. Wild and ignorant savages as they were, they lived a life of simple happiness as they dwelt undisturbed in their land of sunshine and plenty. Something of the charm and of the hardship of those days,

with their undercurrent of pathos, has been reflected to us in the songs and legends that have been handed down to later generations.

An Indian Legend. — A single interesting legend, typical of many, is here given as reported "from the lips of one of our most venerable pioneers."

"There was once a time when there were no human inhabitants in California, but there were two spirits, one evil, the other good. They made war upon one another, and the good one overcame the evil. At that time the entire face of the country was covered with water, except two islands, one of which was Mt. Diablo, the other Reed's Peak. There was a coyote on the peak, the only living thing there. One day the coyote saw a feather floating on the water, which, as it reached the island, suddenly turned into an eagle, and spreading its broad pinions flew upon the mountain. Coyote was much pleased with his new companion, and they lived in great harmony together, making occasional excursions to the other island, coyote swimming while the eagle flew. After some length of time they counseled together and concluded to make Indians; they did so, and as the Indians increased the waters decreased, until where the lake had been became dry land. At that time what is now known as the Golden Gate was an entire chain of mountains, so that you could go from one side to the other dry-shod. There were at this time two outlets for the waters; one was Russian River, the other San Juan, at the Parkado. Some time afterwards a great earthquake severed the chain of mountains, and formed what is now known as the Golden Gate. Then the waters of the Great Ocean and the Bay were permitted to mingle. The rocky wall being rent asunder, it was not long before the 'pale faces' found their way in, and, as the waters decreased at the coming of the Indians, so have the Indians decreased at the approach of the white man, until the war-

whoop is heard no more, and the council fire is no more lighted; for the Indians, like shadows, have passed silently away from the land of the coyote and the eagle."—H. B. D., in *Hesperian, September*, 1859.

Fate of the California Indians. — The fate of the California Indians has indeed been most pathetic. Whole tribes were swept out of existence by the more degraded and immoral class of whites, or "bad whites," who first invaded their native haunts. There remains to-day only a pitiable remnant of the once populous race that flourished all up and down our rolling hills and fruitful valleys. In the stern march of progress the native Indians of California have given way to the all-conquering Aryan race, and their home of beauty and of luxury has been made to yield its ample resources, multiplied under the hand of civilization, to another and higher race.

CHAPTER VII

THE JESUITS IN LOWER CALIFORNIA

Slow Progress in Exploration. — Exploration and colonization on the Pacific coast of North America went forward for a long time much more slowly than on the Atlantic side of the continent. The principal reason for this was that the Atlantic Ocean is the natural approach to our continent from Europe, while to reach our western coast meant great and added danger. Numerous precipices and headlands were threatening; terrific and unfamiliar storms frowned upon the mariner; and the great mountain wall always so near the shore, with few and uncertain harbors of safety, was far from inviting.

The peninsula of Baja or Lower California had been discovered in 1534, but it was not until Vizcaino's voyage of 1602 that steps were actually taken to colonize the land. The very ease and rapidity with which Peru and Mexico had been conquered took away the liking for the necessarily slow and laborious subduing of this new country. The Spanish captains sought immediate results from their expeditions. In their desire for gold

they did not take the proper sort of equipment for true colonization; and in their haste to grasp a fortune the conquerors sadly wasted the meager resources that they had. So discouraging were the many fruitless efforts that as late as 1686 it was thought to be out of the question to carry on the conquest of California.

Work of the Missionaries in Colonization. — But there is a brighter side to the picture. What could not be done by the hardy conqueror, who often had low aims and loose morals and who was too likely to treat the savages with cruelty, was left for the Church to accomplish.

In the occupation and settlement of California the missionary element was well-nigh all important. Among pioneer missionaries as among no other class of men are to be found sublime faith, trustful simplicity and truly heroic labors. "No desert was too frightful for them, no danger too appalling. Alone, unarmed, they traversed the most forbidding lands and braved the most deadly savages, and left in the lives of the Indian such a proud monument as mailed explorers and conquering armies never made." — LUMMIS.

Aid of the Jesuits Invited. — It was decided to ask the Jesuits to assist in the spiritual conquest of California by establishing missions. The Jesuits, or Society of Jesus, had become a strong and very

active body of Christian workers. This spiritual army of the Roman Catholic Church organized and carried forward a system of missions throughout the whole world. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries its labors were witnessed in India, China, Japan, both coasts of Africa and a large part of central Asia, as well as in both North and South America.

Efforts of Fathers Kino and Salvatierra. — The first offers of the Spanish court to the Jesuits proved unsatisfactory and so were rejected. Then Father Kino earnestly set to work in behalf of the enterprise, seeking to win the favor of influential persons. Juan Maria Salvatierra was deeply moved by his appeals and was soon joined with him heart and soul in the missionary enterprise. Salvatierra has been called "the person chosen of God to be the apostle of California." He possessed a large frame and a strong constitution, and he was intrepid, sagacious, kind and gentle.

After several unsuccessful attempts to secure the necessary license, these zealous missionaries applied, almost disheartened, directly to Santa Ella, the Father-General of the Society of Jesus, who had just arrived in Mexico. The desired license was soon issued, the Viceroy and his counselors looked with favor upon the cause, and liberal subscriptions began at once to pour in for carrying on the work.

On the fifth day of February, 1697, the royal charter was granted, fully authorizing Fathers Salvatierra and Kino to take possession of California and to settle it in the name of the King of Spain.

The Mother Mission Founded. — The location for the mother mission was selected and named Loreto from the patroness of the proposed conquest. The provisions being landed, the garrison built, the temporary chapel raised, and the garlanded crucifix erected before it, the procession solemnly marched from the ship and with suitable ceremonies took formal possession. Thus on the twenty-fifth day of October, 1697, was the religious conquest of Lower California begun by Padre Salvatierra, a great, courageous, large-hearted man and a willing exile from the highest European circles, who gave up kinship, luxury and congenial society in order freely to devote his life to the well-being of the ignorant and degraded natives of a land that seemed little better than a barren waste.

But the innumerable difficulties arising from troubles with the Indians, the want of provisions, and the indifference of the Spanish government were appalling. The devoted Fathers stood faithful through it all, and brighter prospects dawned when Philip V became King of Spain.

The real purpose of the missions of Lower Cali-

fornia, as set forth by their representatives, was the instruction of the natives in the truths of Christianity and in the arts of civilized life.

A Chain of Missions Established. — In October, 1699, Father Piccolo laid the foundation of the

MISSION SAN GABRIEL ARCANGEL

second mission, San Francisco Xavier, and the system was fairly begun. The successful establishment of a chain of Christian missions in such a land as Lower California, in the face of incredible hardships and repeated disasters, all for the sake of bringing salvation to one of the most degraded peoples in all the world, was itself a momentous

achievement. Of this great work Kino was the projector, Salvatierra the founder and Ugarte the preserver.

Kino's splendid design included carrying a system of missions around the head of the Gulf of California so as to unite the centers on the Californian peninsula with those of Sonora, and then extending the line northward as far as the almost unknown Cape Mendocino. What a bold idea it was! But neither Father Kino nor any of his brother Jesuits was ever permitted to see it realized. The good man wore out his life with toilsome service, and laid it down at last, in 1710, for his fellow men.

Father Ugarte Upbuilds the Missions.— Though Salvatierra was "the apostle of California" and the leading founder of the Jesuit missions there, the chief glory of preserving the missions from early destruction belongs to Father Ugarte. He was the Hercules of the Society of Jesus. Going to Loreto, he found the men dissatisfied and the establishment deserted. Alone he set to work to upbuild the mission. He planted gardens and orchards, raised many horses, cattle and sheep, cultivated fields, and reaped abundant harvests. He even made distaffs, spinning wheels and looms. His strength was indeed Herculean, his talents great and many, his spirit dauntless; "an ad-

mirable man, as God liveth, well worthy of immortality."

Destruction of the Southern Missions. — The Indian converts had become weary of the restraints laid upon them by their missionary teachers, who opposed their savage practices, prohibited their bloody wars and strove to correct their habits of idleness and shiftlessness. As a result a spirit of rebellion arose and spread rapidly among the tribes, until the whole southern country was ready to break out in strife and bloodshed. When the rebellious spirit at length burst forth into fierce flames of revolution, the four southern missions were utterly destroyed, and Fathers Carranco and Tamaral were foully murdered. As a result the outside settlements were promptly given up, and word was sent to Spain of the desperate condition of affairs.

Restoration of the Missions. — But the poor dependent Indians soon came to realize their loss in the sudden withdrawal of their teachers, to whom they had come to look for food and clothing. It was not long before the missionaries were urged to return. Finally the missions were restored, and once more progress and prosperity reigned among the Jesuit padres.

Expulsion of the Jesuits. — In the midst of the new prosperity and revived hopes, the political movements against the Jesuit Society in Europe

were beginning to threaten the very existence of that order. In 1759 the Portuguese government suppressed it and seized its property. A few years later similar action was taken in France. This was followed by the expulsion from every part of the wide dominions of Spain of all the Jesuits, by Charles III, on the charge that they had conspired against the king and that treasonable writings had been found. The execution of this harsh decree in Mexico was committed to Gaspar de Portolá, and was set for July of 1767.

After celebration of the last High Mass at Loreto and the farewell sermon by Padre Diez, the sad embarkation took place at Vera Cruz, on the thirteenth day of the following April, amidst much weeping and loud lamentation. "The poor savages crowd about the departing padres for a blessing. How shall they console their grief? Who shall love and labor for them? Who shall teach, pray for them, and rear them step by step onward, to the high estate of a virtuous, enlightened and religious people? Alas! poor Indians! from this day onward you return to vice and fade away." —FARNHAM.

Portolá had shown much tact in the performance of his disagreeable task, and now he turned over the mission system of Lower California to the Franciscan College at San Fernando.

CHAPTER VIII

THE COMING OF THE FRANCISCAN FATHERS

The Franciscans Succeed the Jesuits. — For two generations had the devout Jesuit missionaries labored and suffered in the hard field of Lower California. Even in that desert land, where nature had done so little, they had made the rose to bloom and the vine to grow. After seventy years of patient toil, at an hour when Providence seemed smiling upon their earnest efforts, they had been suddenly expelled from their fifteen prosperous missions.

And now the Jesuit fathers having taken their departure, the Spanish government placed the missions, together with their entire government and unbounded opportunities for future conquest, in the hands of the Franciscan order of the Catholic Church. This brotherhood was very old, having been founded by St. Francis of Assisi in 1209. It was noted for its many works of charity and its great devotion to the higher interests of the people.

The Franciscans were obliged to live on charity; they were denied earthly possessions, and were expected to carry the Gospel to all places no longer

ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI

visited by the more wealthy clergy. At first they were given control of the entire missionary system of California, including both Lower and Upper

California. A few years later, however, the missions of Lower California were, by mutual agreement, given over to the Dominican Order, while to the Franciscans was assigned the great work of carrying on the spiritual conquest of Upper California.

Brighter Prospects in Alta California. — The Franciscans began their labors under decidedly more favorable auspices than had the Jesuits. The character of the government itself had changed for the better. The new missionaries were encouraged instead of being hampered by the powers at home. Best of all, the scene of their most active labors had shifted from sterile Baja California to fertile Alta California, which by comparison was indeed a land flowing with milk and honey.

As, long before, wild notions about the Amazons and the abundance of gold and jewels had led to the discovery and first explorations of California, so now, in a sense, the actual occupation of the fair northland by the Spaniards was accidental. The little that was known about the country had been known ever since the famous voyage of Vizcaino. It had long been the purpose of Spain to explore and occupy the region sometime, but domestic troubles caused many delays. It was now the fear that the Russians might come down into Califor-

nia from the northwest across the mysterious Straits of Anian that furnished Spain with the only new motive for undertaking the northern conquest.

We have seen that Father Kino had looked forward to occupying the country as far north as Cape Mendocino; but the Jesuits had been hindered, and Alta California was really to them an unknown land. The Franciscans undertook the new enterprise with much zeal, eager to surpass the work already done and to carry Christianity to thousands of savages.

Threefold Plan of Occupation. — From the standpoint of the Spanish government, a threefold plan was followed in the occupation and settlement of Alta California, comprising not only the religious but also the civil and military forces. As the religious forces resulted in the founding of the missions, the military occupation was secured by means of presidios, or garrisons, and the civic life sprang from pueblos, or towns.

Fear of the Russians. — It was in 1768 that the Viceroy of New Spain, or Mexico, received orders to occupy and fortify San Diego and Monterey as a defense against the Russians, who seemed to be threatening from the north. The great enterprise was intrusted to José Galvez, Visitador-General of New Spain, a clear-headed, energetic man. Galvez was aided by Captain Portolá, military and civil

DON NICHOLAS A. COVARRUBIAS AS PORTOLÁ IN THE PORTOLÁ FESTIVAL, SAN FRANCISCO, 1909

governor, commander of the force at Loreto, and Junipero Serra, Father-President of the Franciscans.

Colonizing Expeditions Arranged. — Plans were worked out for four expeditions to Nueva California, two by land and two by sea. Portolá and

CROSS AND BELL, RUBIDOUX HEIGHTS, RIVERSIDE

Rivera were to conduct the land expeditions, and Juan Perez and Vicente Vila were given command of the ships *San Antonio* and *San Carlos.*

After careful preparation the flagship *San Carlos* was dispatched from La Paz, January 9, 1769, with sixty-two persons on board. Five weeks later the *San Antonio* set sail, and on March 24 the first

land expedition left Santa Maria; but not until the fifteenth of May did Captain Portolá and Father-President Serra start with the second, on that most eventful and important journey northward.

Difficulties of the Journey.— It may seem to us at this day that the journey from a Mexican port to the San Diego Bay is a very simple matter, free from extraordinary excitement or danger. But we forget the character of most of those pioneers, many of them poor, ignorant hirelings, and the fact that their captains were facing unknown waters practically without chart, in vessels none too seaworthy; while their land captains were compelled to hew out a pathway through a country never yet frequented by the white man and in much of which " nothing abounds except stones and thorns." To be sure, the valleys seemed more delightful as they proceeded northward, and the rolling hills were crowned with grapevines and wild roses; but who can now understand the hardships, the trials, the acute suffering of that pioneer journey? Who can picture the gnawings of hunger, the tortures of thirst, the sufferings from the dreaded scurvy, endured by those wretched sailors, knowing not whither they went? The *San Antonio* lost eight of her crew by scurvy; nearly all the sailors of the *San Carlos* perished during her long and perilous

voyage. The third ship, sailing some time afterwards, never reached the harbor and was never heard of again.

The other two ships sailed far to the north of San Diego, having been misled by the report of Vizcaino, and it seemed like a miracle that the

FATHER SERRA

San Carlos reached the harbor just as the *San Antonio* was about to put to sea again after eighteen days of anxious watching.

On the fourteenth of May the land expedition under Rivera arrived, after a march of fifty-one days, and active preparations for setting up the mission were begun. On the first of July the last

members of the second land expedition joined their comrades, and the four divisions were united. But alas! of the two hundred and nineteen persons who had started ninety-three were now found to be missing.

Birthday of Alta California. — Theodore Hittell, an historian of our Commonwealth, has suggested that July 1, 1769, might appropriately be commemorated as the birthday of Alta California, since it was on that day that Junipero Serra and Portolá came up and thus completed that noteworthy expedition which marked the entrance into this great, new land.

Founding of Mission San Diego. — Then came the first Sunday; and on that first Sunday the one hundred and twenty-six pioneers of California devoutly celebrated their arrival and safe preservation with a solemn mass and the booming of guns. A fortnight later, once more on Sunday, Father Junipero Serra formally raised and blessed the cross, preached a deeply earnest sermon to the little company of men, and dedicated the mission to San Diego de Alcalá. This was on the sixteenth of July, the day of the triumph of the holy cross, long celebrated in the Spanish church as the anniversary of a memorable Christian victory over the Moors, won in 1212.

Thus was broken the silence of the ages in Alta

California. Once entered, that land was never to be forsaken by the Caucasian and the Christian, but was destined to develop into a mighty Commonwealth, pouring its golden treasure into the lap of the earth's most opulent nation.

MISSION, SAN DIEGO, FOUNDED 1769

CHAPTER IX

JUNIPERO SERRA, CALIFORNIAN KNIGHT OF THE CROSS

Father Serra's Early Days. — The baptismal name of the first Father-President of the Franciscan Missions of California was Miguel José Serra. He was born of lowly parentage at the village of Petra, in the island of Majorca, November 24, 1713.

As a mere boy religious studies delighted his mind, and very early he determined to devote himself to missionary work in the opening field of the New World. In 1729, at the age of sixteen, he became a Franciscan, taking on that important occasion the name by which he is best known, Junipero. This name he assumed in memory of Juniperus, of whom St. Francis, his guide and companion, was wont to exclaim, "Would that I had a whole forest of such junipers!"

Preparation for Life Work. — Upon entering the Majorca convent Serra found three other young monks — Palou, Verger and Crespi — and among the quartet grew up an intimate and affectionate companionship, which never afterward waned. Serra became a professor of theology, and earned the title of Doctor; but his ardor for mission work was not

STATUE OF FATHER SERRA, AT GOLDEN GATE PARK

in the least dampened by years of delay and the strict routine of the monastery. His soul seemed to be on fire with zeal, and New Spain was his goal.

When at last in 1749 Serra and his companions received permission to join a company of missionaries at Cadiz bound for Mexico, his very being seemed crowned with a halo of glory. After a voyage that occupied ninety-nine days, the harbor of Vera Cruz was reached, and Serra proceeded to the College of San Fernando, eager to enter upon the great work of preaching and founding missions. For nineteen years he prosecuted his labors in Mexico with unflagging interest. But the great work of his life lay still before him.

Preparations went forward for the occupation of Alta California. To Junipero, at the head of a band of sixteen missionaries, was committed this great work. Filled with deep emotion, unable to speak for his tears, he received his appointment as Father-President. All his life he had been preparing for just such an opportunity; and now at last, at the age of fifty-six, he embraced it with sacred joy and humble gratitude.

Serra's Journey. — The thrilling story of the first expedition into Upper California has already been told. Although suffering severe pain from an inflamed leg, Serra refused to go by sea, preferring to accompany one of the land expeditions and

THE STANFORD MONUMENT TO JUNIPERO SERRA AT MONTEREY

endure all the hardships of walking. His injury he had received a score of years before in making a long journey on foot. His friends now tried to dissuade him from walking. With his usual ardor

he said "he would rather die on the road than not go, but that he should not die, for the Lord would carry him through." His painful wound he accepted as a cross to be borne, making no serious attempt to cure it: and so to the end of his life he carried the diseased member, even allowing it to grow worse by going barefooted and walking long distances when he might freely ride.

SIGNATURE OF FATHER SERRA

Junipero always regarded himself as under Heaven's special protection. In his colossal labors he never grew weary; in his militant spirit and triumphant faith he was unconquerable.

We have the following picture of this man of mighty faith:

"The face is one, once seen, never to be forgotten; full of spirituality, tenderness and unutterable pathos; the mouth and chin so delicately sensitive that one marvels how such a soul could have been capable of heroic endurance of hardship; the forehead and eyes strong, radiant with quenchless purpose, but filled with that solemn, yearning, almost superhuman sadness which has been in all time the sign and seal on the faces of men born to die for the sake of their fellows." — H. H. JACKSON.

The Search for Monterey. — The overland party under Portolá, which two days before the founding of San Diego Mission had set out to find Monterey, toiled on and on into the unknown northland, and in bewilderment passed forty leagues beyond the harbor sought without suspecting it, realizing the mistake only after discovering San Francisco Bay. After months of weary wandering and hardship, winter now approaching, the disheartened travelers decided to retrace their steps, if possible, to far-off San Diego. It was January twenty-fourth when they reached the table-lands above the mission. They were indeed greeted with warmth and eagerness by their waiting companions.

But alas! sorry was the plight of their comrades. Disease had been playing havoc; the Indians had proved treacherous; provisions had become so distressingly low that it seemed madness to think of remaining there longer.

Serra's First Mission Saved. — Junipero was not disheartened; but in spite of his entreaties Governor Portolá announced his intention of giving up the mission, and accordingly fixed March 20 as the last day he would wait for the supply ship from Mexico. Junipero would not assent to this plan, and brave Crespi stood by his leader. Many days and nights the Father-President spent in prayer, supplicating Heaven for relief.

Lo, a sail far out on the horizon, seen before noon on that last, decisive day! Was it a phantom ship, a mere specter? Ah, no — it was the good ship *San Antonio;* and four days later she sailed into port, bearing ample stores and cheering all

CARMEL MISSION, AFTER RESTORATION
This Mission was the headquarters of the Father-President

hearts. The mission was saved. California would yet be taken.

Mission Founded at Monterey. — New expeditions promptly set out in search of Monterey, Father Junipero himself this time sailing on board the *San Antonio.* And now his efforts were crowned

with complete success. On the last day of May, 1770, the heart of the faithful leader leaped with joy as he stepped on the shore of Monterey Bay. "Our joy increased," he writes, "when on holy Pentecost Day, June 3, close by the same oak tree where the Fathers of Vizcaino's expedition in 1602 had celebrated holy Mass, after we had built an altar, sung the *Veni Creator*, hung and rung the bells, I raised and blessed the great cross, and sang the High Mass, during which I preached to the officers and men of both the sea and land expeditions. Afterwards we sang the *Salve* to the Blessed Virgin before her image; and we closed the ceremonies with the singing of the *Te Deum*. The officers thereupon took formal possession of the land in the name of the King."

The cheering news of the discovery of Monterey Bay and the founding of Mission San Carlos was at once sent to the Viceroy and to the King of Spain, and caused great rejoicing throughout the Spanish dominions.

The Life Work of Serra Completed. — But for Junipero and his followers there were yet many years of struggle, hardship and heroic sacrifice. For him no difficulty was too great, no suffering too intense. His courage failed not in the face of dangers that would have appalled others; his sublime faith removed mountains of perplexity and

inspired his loyal band. His one great passion was to baptize Indians; to feel that he had saved a soul from death always gave him unbounded joy. While standing in the pulpit his spiritual earnestness was most intense. He would sometimes beat his bared breast violently with a stone, or burn his flesh with a lighted torch, to heighten the effect of his descriptions.

ARCHES, MISSION SAN MIGUEL

Serra founded nine missions in all, the last of which was San Buenaventura, on March 31, 1782. San Carlos was the special charge of the Father-President, and there it was he spent his time when he was not founding other missions or directing the work in them.

But his labors must cease. In 1783, at the age of seventy — being very lame and very feeble — he made the long journey on foot from San Diego to Monterey, visiting all intervening missions and not failing to turn aside into the scores of Indian villages to bestow comfort and sympathy upon the

poor natives. On the afternoon of August 28, 1784, the tolling of the mission death bell announced to the grief-stricken people the departure of his heroic spirit. His most fitting eulogy was in the tears of his Indian converts, whose warmest love Padre Junipero, by his zeal and life-giving labors, had won and held to the end.

In the midst of the sanctuary he loved so well Junipero Serra was buried. Beside his grave are those of his fellow missionaries, Fathers Crespi, Lopez and Lasuen. To-day the restored church stands as a monument over the grave of the foremost character in the missionary history of Spanish California.

"Such graves are pilgrim shrines,
Shrines to no code or creed confined,
The Delphian vales, the Palestines,
The Meccas of the mind."

CHAPTER X

PADRES AND NEOPHYTES: LIFE AT THE MISSIONS

Importance of Missions in California History. — Thomas Carlyle once said that the history of England is the history of her Church. It may be said with equal truth of our fair western land that the history of Hispano-California is the history of her Christian missions. The twenty-one Franciscan mission centers occupied the entire coast line from San Diego to Sonoma, the founders having shown much wisdom in selecting the most attractive sites. Altogether their importance in occupying and holding the territory against invasion by foreigners — aside from the work of civilizing and Christianizing the Indians — would not be easy to overestimate.

THE PALMS, MISSION SAN FERNANDO

How a Mission Was Founded. — What was the method of founding one of these early missions? The routine, which was nearly the same in all cases, is thus given in the words of Helen Hunt Jackson:

"A cross was set up; a booth of branches was built; the ground and the booth were consecrated by holy water and christened by the name of a saint; a Mass was performed; the neighboring Indians, if there were any, were roused and summoned by the ringing of bells swung on the limbs of trees; presents of cloth and trinkets were given them to inspire them with trust, and thus a mission was founded. Two monks were appointed to take charge of this cross and booth, and to win, baptize and convert and teach all the Indians to be reached in the region. They had for guard and help a few soldiers, and sometimes a few already partly civilized and Christianized Indians. Several head of cattle, some tools and seeds and holy vessels for the church service, completed their store of weapons, spiritual and secular, offensive and defensive, with which to conquer the wilderness and its savages."

Architecture and Buildings. — The booths, which were made from the boughs of trees, gave way in time to the substantial and stately stone churches. Around these churches were grouped the many other buildings belonging to the mission. Viewed from the standpoint of architecture, all the missions were on the same general plan, but no two of them were exactly alike in their details.

The quadrangle, or hollow square, was a leading feature at all the missions. The church, being

the principal structure, very properly contained the greater part of the wealth and fine ornaments, and occupied the choicest site in the quadrangle.

These mission churches, each provided with tower and chime of bells, were large, strongly

REAR ARCHES, MISSION SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO

built and in every case picturesque and impressive. It required from ten to fifteen years to complete one of these churches. "Each will remain, so long as arch, pillar or dome of it shall stand, a noble and touching monument of the patient Indian workers who built, and of the devoted friars who designed, its majestic and graceful proportions." Occupying the chief place at the side or corner of the mission quadrangle,

MISSION SAN LUIS REY

within easy view of the surrounding stretches of country, the church opened directly into the inner courtyard, made beautifully attractive by fountains and shrubbery.

Use of Adobe. — In the construction of the mission buildings a most important part was played

by the adobe. This is a sun-dried brick, made of common surface clayey soil with which cut straw is mixed to cause even drying. It is usually about four by twelve by sixteen inches in size. From the most distant ages the Pueblo Indians of Arizona made houses of thick mud "to keep out the heat in summer and retain it in winter;" and the Spaniards were not slow in seizing the idea of the Indians, suiting it to their more refined uses.

The thick walls of these adobe structures were never left rough, but were plastered inside and out with mortar made of the same mud, then finished with lime wash in some soft color, such as cream, yellow or pink, thus presenting an attractive appearance.

Introduction of Tiles. — Tiles also came to be of much importance in mission architecture. At first the buildings had usually been thatched with straw or reeds, especially the *tule;* but great losses had been sustained through fire. The tile was first used at Mission San Luis Obispo, and later was used at all missions. Tiles for the roof were of a yellowish red color, fashioned by the padres in exact copy of the tile in common use in Europe.

Mission San Luis Rey. — De Mofras, a noted French explorer who visited the missions while they were in a prosperous condition, has left a

faithful description of San Luis Rey, one of the largest, which may be taken as a type of all. Its great structure was a quadrilateral of two stories, 450 feet square, the church occupying one wing.

FOUNTAIN AT MISSION SANTA BARBARA

This church was 164 feet long, 50 wide and 60 high, with walls 4 feet thick. A tower at one side supported a belfry for a chime of eight bells. On the opposite side stretched the long corridor with its two hundred and fifty-six arches. Its ornaments of gold and silver were superb.

The interior was formed by a court ornamented with fountains and decorated with trees. Upon the surrounding gallery were the dormitories of the monks, of the *mayordomos*, the guest chambers, the workshops, schoolrooms and storehouses. The Indian girls — or nuns, as they were called — dwelt in the monasteries, where, under the care of Indian matrons, they learned to make clothes of wool, of cotton and of flax. In the schools the children mingled freely with those of the white colonists.

The Indians were encouraged to settle in villages near the churches and to take on the beginnings of civilized life. It was understood that the "produce of their labor and the soil itself belonged to the Indians." But the missionaries were managers and directors, as parents to children, and so they had great power over the missions and the property connected with them.

Life of the Neophytes. — For the neophytes, or baptized Indians, life was an almost ceaseless round of religious exercises, industrial duties and social diversions. Mr. John T. Doyle gives this picture of life in a mission:

"At sunrise the bell sounded for the Angelus and the Indians assembled in the chapel, where they attended morning prayers and Mass and received a short religious instruction. Then came breakfast, after which, distributed in squads as

MISSION SANTA CLARA, FROM A PAINTING BY A. P. HILL

occasion required, they repaired to their work. At 11 A.M. they ate dinner, and after that rested until 2 P.M. Work was then resumed, and continued until an hour before sunset, when the bell again tolled for the Angelus. After prayers and the rosary the Indians supped, and then were free to take part in a dance or some such innocent amusement."

Thus in the missions seven hours of each day were given to labor, two to prayer and instruction, and the remaining time to rest or recreation, or worship. Repeated neglect of the regular religious services was an offense for which the neophyte was often flogged.

The Indian children were given systematic instruction in religion and in music. In singing and in playing certain instruments, especially the violin, flute and violoncello, some of the boys and girls became very skillful.

Daily Duties. — The workaday life varied somewhat with the locality, but every mission was like every other in being a "hive of industry." The natives cared for the neighboring ranches and the gardens and orchards were worked by them. The creek was to be dammed in, ditches for irrigation to be digged, stone to be quarried, brick to be made, lumber to be hewn, the common industrial arts to be mastered and everything to be kept in repair.

The neophytes went to field, garden or vineyard in squads, which were under the management of

the more trusty and capable natives, called *alcaldes*, or foremen, who in turn were directly responsible to the padres. As compensation for their labor the Indians received food, clothing and instruction. Their dress consisted of a linen shirt, a pair of pantaloons, a smock frock or coarse blanket and usually shoes. Women received every year two changes of underclothing and a new gown. The *alcaldes* and head workmen had in addition clothes similar to those worn by the Spaniards. The clothing of the natives was coarse but serviceable. When we recall the way in which the California Indians had lived for many generations, it is not surprising that many were glad of an opportunity to escape the tasks imposed by the padres, cast off their unaccustomed garments, and seek again the wild freedom of mountain and of forest.

Food. — The food provided by the missions naturally proved a strong attraction to the indolent savage. For the greater part of their supplies the missions were obliged to depend upon their own resources, and the products of the soil formed the main element. The principal items in the bill of fare were roasted barley (*atole*) and corn meal (*pinole*); fresh beef and mutton were provided, often in great abundance, and they had also a few vegetables, which were commonly served with coarse meal cakes called *tortillas*. A generation

later old surviving mission Indians, who had passed through the sorrows of secularization and suffered its discomforts, were much given to singing the praises of earlier days, as with deep pathos they would lament the passing of *buen tiempo* (the "good time").

ON THE SACRISTY STAIRS, SANTA BARBARA

The neophytes of the missions were as children under the tutelage of the mission padres. While there was time for play and time for rest, we are told how the whole place seemed alive with industry: "trades plying indoors and outdoors; tillers, herders, vintagers by hundreds, going to and fro; children in schools; women spinning; bands of young men practicing on musical instruments; . . . at evening, all sorts of games of running, leaping, dancing and ball throwing, and the picturesque ceremonies of a religion which has always been wise in availing itself of beautiful agencies in color, form and harmony."

A beautiful touch of real life is given in the form

of greeting sometimes used between padre and neophyte. When the gentle missionary chanced to meet one of the Indians he saluted him with, "*Amad á Dios, hijo!*" and the neophyte reverently returned the salute, "*Amad á Dios, Padre!*" (" Love God, my son;" " Love God, Father.")

A LATIN VESPER BOOK

The Indians were like grown-up children in everything except the capacity for doing mischief; and in this they were full-grown men. The missionary was their tutor, standing in the place of a parent. Association with white soldiers and colonists usually led to vices, particularly the vices of gambling and drunkenness.

MISSION DOLORES, OR SAN FRANCISCO DE ASIS

CHAPTER XI

THE DOWNFALL OF THE MISSIONS

Original Terms of Occupation. — When the work of occupying Lower California was committed to the Jesuits in 1697 two important conditions were

ARCHES, MISSION SAN JUAN DE BAUTISTA

laid down: "(1) That possession of the country was to be taken in the name of the Spanish crown; and (2) that the royal treasury was not to be

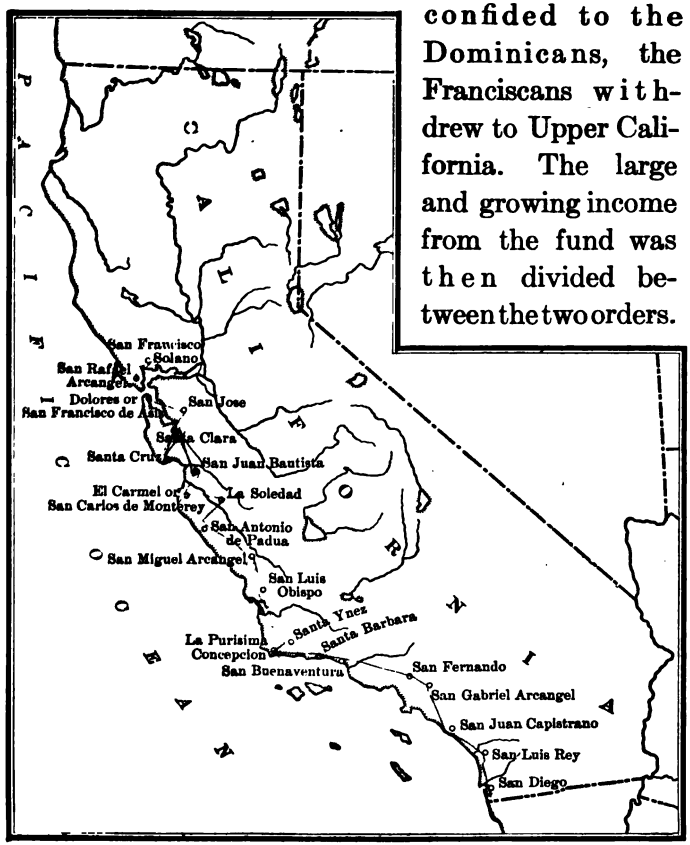
called on for any of the expenses of the enterprise." Fathers Kino and Salvatierra had already received donations to help the work. Other persons were induced to make gifts, and very soon a permanent endowment fund was established for the founding of Catholic missions in California.

SAN MIGUEL MISSION

The Pious Fund of the Californias. — From the income of this fund were defrayed the regular expenses of the missions. A sum equivalent to $10,000, yielding at the rate of five per cent a yearly interest of $500, was enough for the support of one mission. In a little time this growing endowment came to be known as "The Pious Fund of the Californias."

Until the year in which they were expelled from

California the Jesuits managed the Pious Fund. When the missions of Lower California were confided to the Dominicans, the Franciscans withdrew to Upper California. The large and growing income from the fund was then divided between the two orders.



MAP OF CALIFORNIA, SHOWING THE LOCATION OF THE MISSIONS

Spain's Original Purpose. — It was part of the original purpose of the Spanish government that

when the Indian neophytes had been sufficiently instructed and civilized, the missions should be changed into parishes and the villages should be turned into organized towns. Secular priests appointed by the bishop were to take the place of the Franciscan missionaries. The land which had been cultivated, and the livestock which had been raised under the supervision of the friars, as the missionaries were called, were to be turned over to the Indians and managed by them.

Such was the plan that was to be carried out in all the newly-discovered countries under Spanish rule. The padres of the twenty-one missions of California were thus given the difficult task of trying to prepare the neophytes for this important change. They were acting as pioneers, paving the way for other priests who would be expected to continue the work. They claimed no share in the property which, with the aid of the neophytes, they had accumulated for the benefit of all the Indians.

The natives of California, however, were found to be very low in the scale of intelligence and industry. Therefore the Spanish authorities thought it wise to leave the neophytes, their lands and stock, in charge of the missionaries as long as they were willing to continue their services, or until the bishop could send other priests to take their places. No substitutes ever came. The friars, therefore, remained at their

posts until they died, with the exception of a few that returned to Spain or to Mexico.

Decree of Secularization. — After Mexico declared itself independent from Spain, many men, both in Mexico and California, became anxious to gain control of the land and other property held in trust for the neophyte Indians. The Mexican government, which was unfriendly to the Franciscans, decreed, on August 17, 1833, that the friars should give place to curates or parish priests, and return to Spain. The new priests were to attend only to the spiritual needs of the Indians. This is called secularization. According to the custom in other Spanish countries the Indians were then left to manage their own property.

This arrangement was very displeasing to many of the leading California settlers. Governor José Figueroa declared, in accord with the territorial legislature, that all the land and property of the neophytes at the missions should be placed in charge of paid officials called *administradores*, who were to have control of the Indians. Sad to say, in spite of the prohibition of the supreme government of Mexico, this order of Governor Figueroa and his councillors was carried out in a way that looked like downright plunder, and meant the complete ruin of the once prosperous missions and the confusion and scattering of the simple-minded Indians. The officials were supposed to conduct the business affairs

of the missions for the benefit of the neophytes, but they were not slow to turn the income from the mission lands into the greedy grasp of the territorial government and that of their friends.

Pitiable Condition of the Neophytes. — What could be more pitiable than those thousands of ignorant and helpless neophytes, so completely dependent upon the missionaries, all at once torn from their teachers and protectors and thrust out upon the scant mercy of unscrupulous whites who were eager for the very choicest of their land and treasure?

The leading argument in favor of the change was that the Indians were really in a state of servitude and must be set free; while another reason that was given much weight was the urgent need of the money which, it was thought, would be secured.

On the other hand the missionaries claimed that such an indolent race of men as the native savages of California had proved themselves to be could be brought to a state of order, industry and decency only by keeping them together under kindly supervision. Of what value would they ever be to themselves if they were allowed to wander about as they pleased? Thus reasoned the Spanish padres.

It is not surprising, therefore, that when the decree went forth the missionaries urged that the neophytes who were under their guardianship were

not yet prepared for independent, civilized life. Perhaps they could never, within any reasonable time, have been made quite ready for such a change. Civil control *sometime* was in one sense right, and was in the plan from the beginning;

BELFRY, PALA MISSION

yet it is to be deplored that the original intention was not carried out with more justice and wisdom.

Decline of the Mission System. — The neophytes remaining at the missions naturally sympathized with the padres. As conditions went steadily from bad to worse, the lot of the helpless Indians was indeed most wretched. The so-called emancipation was often little more than a bold-faced sham. Out of one hundred and sixty families at San Diego to whom emancipation was offered

by the governor, only ten could be induced to accept it. The case of San Diego is typical of many. The Indian was suddenly reduced to a state of orphanage. The words of James Steele are full of pathos: "Cast again upon the world which had once been his home, all his new wants aggravating the misery of a savage life, unable longer to avail himself of the life of either savage or citizen, he died, and continues to die, until, of all the swarthy hosts that watched from their hills the coming of the cross-bearers, scarce enough are left to furnish ethnology a clew."

To illustrate the dreadful falling away of the mission system it is only necessary to show a comparison of the twenty-one missions in certain leading points under the religious administration in 1834 and under the civil control in 1842:*

	1834	1842
Indians	30,650	4,450
Neat cattle	423,000	28,220
Horses, mules and asses	61,600	3,800
Sheep, swine and goats	321,500	31,600
Acres cultivated	172,970	9,884

Influence of the Missions of Lasting Value. — It is with feelings of sadness that one must record the unhappy end of what has been called one of the grandest experiments ever made for the elevation of an unfortunate race. But there can be no doubt that the disciples of St. Francis in Alta

* From Livingston's Historical Chart of California.

California are deserving of much praise for their unfailing courage, their patient toil, and their heroic sacrifices. Their annals will never be forgotten. And if they failed in realizing their

RUINS OF ARCHES, SAN LUIS REY MISSION

noble ambitions for the Indians, they wrought better than they knew in the great work of holding California for a higher race and a higher destiny.

"Ring, gentle Angelus! ring in my dream,
But wake me not, for I would rather seem
To live the life they lived who've slumbered long
Beneath their fallen altars, than to waken
And find their sanctuaries thus forsaken:
God grant their memory may survive in song!"

— C. W. STODDARD.

CHAPTER XII

THE PUEBLO AND THE PRESIDIO

The Threefold Plan of Occupation. — When the Spanish government undertook to occupy Alta California a threefold plan was devised, which included the religious foundation, the civic community and the military garrison. We have seen how important and really indispensable was the part played by the mission system; we must not fail to consider the other agencies, known as the pueblo and the presidio.

Origin of the Pueblo. — The origin of the pueblo is found in a very early period of old Spanish history. In the most general sense it is a town of any description and of any size. Thus the mission itself, with its cluster of Indian villages, or *rancherias*, formed the basis of a pueblo; even the presidio, soon to be described, might in this sense be called a pueblo, since it gradually became a general center of population.

In its more special sense, however, a pueblo is "a corporate town, with certain rights of jurisdiction and administration." In this sense the pueblo was a local political unit inasmuch as it

applied to all the voters in a certain definite territory; it also had rights over wide tracts of land beyond the actual limits that had been conferred by the pueblo grant.

Purposes of the Pueblo. — The settlement of California by the Spanish people, called *gente de razón* (gentlemen of reason), was encouraged by the crown of Spain, the main purpose being to secure to His Majesty the complete dominion of the rich land. Other ends to be served in the founding of pueblos were to supply the new missions with needed grain and in a little time to furnish the garrisons with recruits and produce. Each settler, known as a *poblador*, was "entitled to receive a house lot, a tract of land for cultivation, another for pasture and a loan of sufficient stock and implements to make a comfortable beginning."

Founding the Pueblo. — By law a pueblo grant consisted of four square leagues of land, laid off in the form of a square or oblong tract. The first care was to choose the *plaza*, or public square, which must be in the midst of the pueblo, or on the water front if the site was favorable. When the plaza had been located the town was carefully laid out into blocks and lots, it being well understood that public buildings, council house, the church and leading private establishments should face the plaza from the different sides, while in

its very center should be the courthouse (*juzgado*) of the pueblo.

The next step was to divide the remaining land into building lots and grant these to the settlers, each *poblador* receiving a lot usually of about one thousand square feet.

According to the theory each pueblo should include, besides the building lots, small farms of fertile soil, a long strip of land called the commons, and still other lands, some distance from the town, for common pasture and woodlands.

Every pueblo of over a thousand persons was to be governed by a council (*ayuntiamento*) composed of judges, attorneys and other councilmen, who had many duties to perform in looking after the public welfare.

The Ideal and the Real Pueblo. — If one reads the details of the plans for settling California with these " gentlemen of reason," bearing in mind the noble objects set forth for the establishment of the pueblos; if one considers the painstaking and minute provisions made for public buildings and private homes, and studies the long code of instructions and regulations laid down for the guidance of every officer and of all the settlers, one will be led to say, "Here we may expect to find the ideal city and a perfect city government." But nothing could be farther from the truth. The actual Cali-

fornia pueblo was very different from the beautiful ideal on parchment. The difference is largely explained by the Spanish love of what Americans

OLD ADOBE HOUSE, MONTEREY

call "red tape" and by the inferior character of the first settlers.

San José. — In 1774 orders were first given for the founding of the two pueblos of San José and Los Angeles. The beautiful Santa Clara Valley had attracted attention five years before, when the missionaries were vainly searching for Monterey Bay; it then abounded with great herds of elk, deer and antelope, while in the surrounding hills numerous grizzly bears found luxurious homes. In

January, 1777, San José was founded by fourteen families, and was thus the first real pueblo in Alta California. The exact name was El Pueblo de San José de Guadalupe.

Los Angeles. — The site of Los Angeles had been visited by Captain Portolá shortly after the founding of San Diego Mission, on the second of August, 1769. Possession was taken in the name of Spain, and the place was called Nuestra Señora la Reina de los Angeles (Our Lady the Queen of the Angels). It was not until September, 1781, that the pueblo was formally established, by twelve families, forty-six persons in all.

These were the only towns that Spain actually founded in California, although an attempt was made at Branciforte, the present site of Santa Cruz; and these were so indifferently founded and for a long time so poorly cared for, that the experiment of civic colonization seemed almost a complete failure.

Character of the First Settlers. — Most of the first settlers were shiftless and indolent; many were condemned criminals; all were unfit for successful colonization. It is no wonder that the growth of San José was very slow — after a period of twenty-eight years it numbered only one hundred and ninety-four persons all told. And as for Los Angeles, it is said that not one of the forty-four

original colonists could read or write, and that thirty-five years elapsed before the first school was established.

Spain made the mistake of trying to make her colonies of use and profit to the home government instead of seeking the highest development of the colonies themselves.

Plan for Establishing Presidios. — In order that the Spanish *pobladores* might be made secure against Indian attacks and that Spain might hold California against invasion by foreign forces, there was planned a line of garrisoned towns, or fortresses, at strategic points along the frontiers. These were to be the presidios.

The province of California was divided into military districts; and in each district there was to be a presidio whose affairs were directed by an officer known as the *comandante*. According to the theory the military power was supreme throughout the province; but in reality the influence of the mission fathers made them easily the superior force.

Four Presidios Founded. — In Alta California four presidios, or presidial towns, were founded. These were Monterey, San Francisco, San Diego and Santa Barbara. Monterey's central location, genial climate and other natural advantages made it for a long time the most important of all Here was fixed the residence of the provincial governor;

while the near-by mission of San Carlos was the headquarters of the Father-President. Thus Monterey was of commanding importance, remaining the capital city of Alta California until our American state government was begun, in 1849.

Monterey. — The presidio of Monterey was first built in 1770. Captain Vancouver describes it as he saw it about twenty years later: "The buildings form a parallelogram, or a long square, comprising an area of about three hundred yards long by two hundred and fifty wide, making a complete inclosure." Around this were church and public buildings, while just before the entrance seven cannon looked out upon the magnificent bay. At first the small population was purely military, there being, all told, several officers and about eighty soldiers; but as time went on it gradually changed to a civil community, and the forlorn appearance of the first years was gradually lost. Richard Henry Dana describes the town, about 1840, as "decidedly the pleasantest and most civilized

"LITTLE CANNON," BROUGHT BY GOVERNOR PORTOLÁ IN 1769. NOW IN THE CORONEL COLLECTION, LOS ANGELES

looking place in California. In the center of it is an open square, surrounded by four lines of one-story plastered buildings, with half a dozen cannon in the center, some mounted and others not. This is the 'presidio,' or fort." The small dwelling houses are further described as being " built of the clay made into large brick (*adobe*), about a foot and a half square and three or four inches thick and hardened in the sun."

San Francisco. — The San Francisco presidio was founded in 1776 with much pomp and ceremony. This was an event of much importance to California. Those first rude structures — chapel, storehouse, officers' quarters and dwellings — were the beginnings of the metropolis of the Pacific. There was nothing unusual in the construction of the presidio; the little civic town of Yerba Buena was of humble origin; the neighboring Mission Dolores carried on its work in the face of heavy difficulties. But presently mission and pueblo were merged into a civic organization or town (1838) and San Francisco was made ready soon to enter upon a history at once vital, romantic, unique and far-reaching in its world influence.

San Diego. — The situation of San Diego is one of the very finest in California. Possessing a natural harbor second only to that of San Francisco and a climate deemed by the Spaniard to be far supe-

rior, its proximity to Mexico might naturally be expected to raise it to a place of the first importance. But in truth the presidio of San Diego, founded at the early date of 1769 — the natal year of the occupation of Alta California — never assumed any great importance, either military or civil. That the site was wisely selected, however, is clearly shown by its great strategic importance, by the record of the mission founded there by Junipero Serra and by the beautiful and flourishing city of the present day.

Santa Barbara. — The last of the four California presidios was Santa Barbara, established in 1782. The buildings erected here, as well as those of the neighboring mission, were superior to those of every other locality. The surroundings delighted Captain Vancouver, for he found "the appearance of a far more civilized place than any other of the Spanish establishments had exhibited. The presidio excels all others in neatness, cleanliness and other smaller though essential comforts."

The Presidios Poorly Maintained. — During almost the entire Spanish period the fortresses were poorly equipped and sadly out of repair, if not really in a state of dilapidation. For a little time during the administration of Governor Borica all works of engineering in California were greatly strengthened by Alberto de Cordoba, who was given the rank

of Engineer Extraordinary. Yet at no time were arms and equipment sufficient to resist serious attacks by ships of war, although they generally proved sufficient to frighten away any hostile Indians.

Around the presidios grew up the four towns of Monterey, San Francisco, San Diego and Santa Barbara. The transition was at first very slow, but with the oncoming of American civilization the change into thriving, modern cities was rapid — almost sudden — and is to-day virtually complete.

CHAPTER XIII

THE RUSSIANS IN CALIFORNIA

Coming of the Russians. — By the opening of the eighteenth century Russia had subdued all of North Asia, and "Siberia became the great game preserve of the empire."

A FUR TRADER

It was quite natural that some of the bold hunters and trappers should cross over to the Aleutian Islands, which stretch in a great semicircle out from Alaska, and thence reach the mainland of North America. This was enough for a beginning of Russian America, which was finally (in 1867) purchased by the United States, thus adding to our domain the vast territory of Alaska with its 590,000 square miles.

As a result of the discoveries of Vitus Bering, the Danish explorer after whom the Bering Strait was named, a large and profitable trade in furs with the

Indians was built up. Thus it was the prevalence of the otter and other wild game that led to a conquest of Alaska, the "great country," as to many another great conquest in North America.

Russian-American Fur Company. — In 1798 the Russian-American Fur Company was formed, with headquarters at Sitka. Not long afterwards Count Rezanof visited Sitka and found his countrymen there in a sorry plight, chiefly from lack of grain and other much-needed provisions.

Thinking that a profitable trade might be opened with the Spaniards of California, Rezanof sailed southward in 1806 and attempted to enter the mouth of the Columbia. Foiled in his attempt, he proceeded south as far as San Francisco, where very soon he laid definite plans for the establishment of an agricultural and trading station at some suitable point on the coast of California.

A NATIVE GRIZZLY

Settlement at Bodega Bay. — Following the lead of Prince Rezanof a Russian expedition entered Bodega Bay, some fifty miles north of San Francisco. Two years later the territory roundabout was carefully explored, with the result that in 1812 representatives of the Rus-

sian empire, without asking leave of Spain, settled upon a location ten miles north of the mouth of Russian River, and there formed the settlement of Bodega Bay. It is stated that the territory of the neighborhood was ceded by the simple-minded Indians for a purchase price consisting of " three blankets, three pairs of breeches, three hoes, two axes and some trinkets."

Fort Ross Established. — Fort Ross, thirty miles farther to the north and sixty-five miles in direct line from San Francisco, was later established; and this fort, with blockhouses and a strong stockade, became the residence of the Russian governor and the chief stronghold of the Russian settlers during their stay in California.

The direct reasons for making these settlements were to afford the Russian-American Fur Company the agricultural products so much needed and to develop stations for procuring and handling the skins of seals, otters and beavers. Whether the Russian government wished by indirect means to gain any large territory in California we cannot be sure. Certain it is that the Spanish Californians viewed with suspicion and alarm the presence and activities of the Russians on their northern border.

Spain Becomes Jealous of Russia. — With the founding of Santa Inez Mission in the autumn of 1804 the spiritual occupation of California from San

Diego to San Francisco had been completed. It was an easy ride from one mission to the next; and purely religious reasons did not wholly determine the establishment of additional missions. The feeling of jealousy toward the Russians, and the fear that they might extend their occupation and lay claim to much of the territory were prime causes for the founding of missions across the Golden Gate, at San Rafael (1817) and Sonoma (1823). In the minds of many of the political leaders these missions had a more strategic and military meaning than a purely religious purpose, directed as they were against the Russians in northern California.

Father Mariano Payeras, president of the missions at that time, sounded a note of alarm against the Russians in 1817. But this did not prevent them from reaching out into new territory and increasing their trade. When in 1833 Father José Gutierrez arrived in Sonoma, he was deeply aggrieved by what he witnessed. There were "the Russians on the one side and the Anglo-Americans on the other possessing themselves of the fertile lands of the frontier, which ought to be occupied by Californians alone."

General Vallejo's Visit and Report. — Partly because Gutierrez was so active in reporting the things he saw, the governor ordered General Mariano

Vallejo, of whom we shall learn more later, to proceed to the vicinity of the Russians and gain all the information he could which might be of value. It is from Vallejo's prompt report to the governor that we glean interesting facts regarding the strength and life of the Russians in California.

The cultivation of the land about Fort Ross was by no means so important as the fur industry. The increase of live stock was more satisfactory than the yield from the cultivated fields. Vallejo reported 700 horses, 800 cattle, 2000 sheep and some 60 swine. Besides two small mills there was a primitive shipyard, where a number of vessels were successfully built, and a tannery, where many varieties of leather and skins were prepared for the market. These, with the indispensable blacksmith shop, provided occupation for the population of the place, numbering, all told, about three hundred persons.

The fort itself proved to be of much interest to General Vallejo.

"It consisted of a square inclosure, one hundred *varas* each way. On the diagonally opposite corners, one looking toward the ocean in front and the other toward the mountains in the rear, were octagonal blockhouses of hewn logs with embrasures, each furnished with six eight-pounder pieces of artillery. A large building at the main gate or entrance of the inclosure, where a sentinel was always on guard, also had embrasures and six cannon; and three others were kept at the house of the *comandante*. . . .

There were fifty-nine buildings . . . within the inclosure; the others scattered without order or regularity on the outside. The walls of the buildings were of wood, strong enough to resist the arrows of the Indians but not sufficient of themselves as a defense against artillery."—HITTELL.

The little chapel, symbol of the Greek form of Christianity and the center of the religious life of the settlement, was a marked contrast to the imposing Franciscan missions.

OLD GREEK CHAPEL, FORT ROSS

Decline of Russian Activity. — Thus the Russians wrought and lived at Fort Ross. Of low intellectual grade, except the *comandante*, they were never very prosperous, and never did they actually prove a serious menace to the Spanish or Mexican possessions. If nothing else had interfered, the unsatisfactory harbor and other geographic conditions would perhaps have prevented them from carrying out any large or complex plans. As it was, the industries of the place fell off and there was increasing thought of giving up the fort. In 1839

Captain John A. Sutter, who had just arrived in California and was laying large plans for a colony on the present site of Sacramento City, purchased from the Russians the bulk of their personal property. In the words of John Bidwell: "Sutter bought them out — cattle and horses; a little vessel of about twenty-five tons' burden, called a launch; and other property, including forty odd pieces of old rusty cannon and one or two small brass pieces, with a quantity of old French flintlock muskets pronounced by Sutter to be of those lost by Bonaparte in 1812 in his disastrous retreat from Moscow. This ordnance Sutter conveyed up the Sacramento River on the launch to his colony." — *Century*, Vol. XLI.

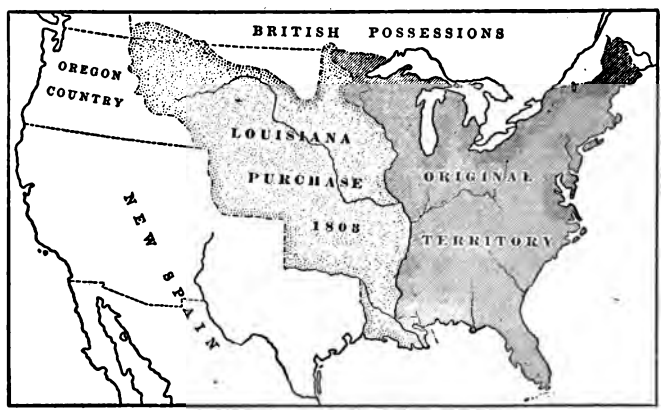
Russians Bid Farewell to California. — Two years later the Russians bade farewell to California and sailed away from Bodega, never again to return to their former possessions.

Material evidence of the Russian settlement is fast disappearing. Steps are being taken to preserve and restore the landmarks; otherwise the day would speedily come when the Russian occupation in Alta California would be known only through the tomes of history, and the Russian civilization within our borders would be but a faint and fading memory.

CHAPTER XIV

THE ROMANTIC DAYS OF HISPANO-CALIFORNIA

California as a Province of New Spain. — It was about the first of July, 1769, when Caspar de



MAP SHOWING THE EXTENT OF NEW SPAIN
Above the 25th parallel

Portolá reached San Diego and became the first Spanish governor of California, an integral part of the *Provincias Internas* of New Spain.

From that time until 1823, when the present Mexican republic was established, there were nine different governors, the seat of the government

being at Monterey, which is proud of the distinction of having been California's first capital. After Mexico secured independence from Spain there were twelve administrations, most of them of very brief duration, the first regularly appointed Mexican governor being Don Luis Arguello, and the last, Pio Pico, holding power up to the time of the American conquest in 1846.

The Spanish Rule. — Under the Spanish rule, California was but a small element in Spain's vast colonial system, controlled by the famous Council of the Indies. The governor was appointed by the central authority of New Spain, or Mexico, and under him were officers called prefects and sub-prefects. He also had the power of appointing other officers, and was himself military commander of the province.

The law-making body consisted of only seven members, and met but once in four years. There were in reality no courts of law in the entire province except those of the *alcaldes*, who were a kind of all-round magistrates to settle quarrels and assist in preserving peace. Yet the *alcalde*, with silver-headed cane and pompous air, played an important rôle in the daily life of Hispano-California.

Governor Borica. — Of the old Spanish governors Diego de Borica (1794–1800) has been called "the most genial and chivalrous as well as wise and

laborious of the old Spanish stock." He was the real founder of popular education in California; he introduced the cultivation of hemp and flax; he administered a justice that was tempered with mercy. He was in all things a cultured gentleman, a gallant commander, a wise and energetic executive. It would have been extremely difficult to find a man who could, with such poor materials for building a state, have accomplished more of good and of progress than did Borica.

Picturesque Features of Spanish-American Life. — The later Spanish rule in California was marked by many features that will always appear picturesque and romantic to succeeding generations. Completely removed, as if by centuries of time, from the rush and whirl of our strenuous life, California was then the home of simple, romantic happiness. Guadalupe Vallejo, a member of one of the leading Spanish families, writes with much warmth about the Golden Age of the past:

" It seems to me that there never was a more peaceful and happy people on the face of the earth than the Spanish, Mexican and Indian population of Alta California before the American conquest. We were the pioneers of the Pacific coast, building towns and missions while General Washington was carrying on the war of the Revolution, and we often talk together of the days when a few hundred large ranches and mission tracts occupied the whole country from the Pacific to the San Joaquin. No class of Americans is more loyal than the Spanish Califor-

nians, but we shall always be especially proud of the traditions and memories of the long pastoral age before 1840."—*Century*, December, 1890.

Plenty of Land. — What a comfort it must have been in those days that there was ample room for all! No niggardly, grasping land policy then! Neither was it deemed a crime for a hungry stranger to kill a bullock, provided he left the hide where it might be recovered by the owner; or for a traveler to saddle a fresh horse that he had picked out and lassoed on the plain, provided he turned him loose in time for the next *rodeo* (round-up).

Abundance of Wild Game. — The land teemed with wild game as perhaps did few places on the earth's surface. Geese, ducks, swans and numerous other species of the feathered tribe; antelope, deer, elk and the many other quadrupeds, both small and great, that bring delight to the heart of the hunter; panthers, bears — black, cinnamon and grizzly — and apparently every manner of carnivorous beast; fish, in varieties without number, in brook, river, lake and bay — such is a hint of the animals' paradise called California, before the *gringo* came. A glimpse is afforded by an incident from real life. W. H. Thomes is describing a morning ride on a spirited horse in the early forties, in the neighborhood of San José. After chasing half a dozen sneaking coyotes and encountering a black bear

that finally "waddled off" with an angry growl, the ride is resumed:

"Then I saw two or three thousand wild geese feeding near the pond, or lake, and making much noise with their complaints and honks. I thought it would be fun to dash into their midst and see them take to flight. But, to my surprise, they did not seem to care for me or the horse, being accustomed to seeing the latter in immense runs feeding on the plains. When I was close upon them they parted to the right and left, and waddled out of the way, aided by their wings, and simply hissed at me for disturbing them in feeding, and would not move except for a rod or two. They could not have acted more stupid if they had been hatched in a barnyard in Rhode Island, and waiting for their daily supply of corn."

Care-free People. — Romantic as were the adventures of the early pioneers of California, fascinating as is the study of Indian lore, it is yet the Hispano-Californians (Spanish-Californians) themselves that chiefly give name and charm to picturesque California. These people, care-free knights of the saddle, enjoyed a life different from that of the true Mexicans and totally distinct from that of the Americans. This life, though possibly prosaic to many of their own number, seems at this distance of time to have embodied many of the fascinating elements of true chivalry.

Being country folk and lovers of the field, the inhabitants spent much time in the saddle; indeed, it may be said that "many were almost born in

A SPANISH CABALLERO

the saddle," for the art of riding was mastered at a very early age. We are told that "every one could ride perfectly, and could pick up a leaf or a flower from the ground as he galloped past. Good riding was expected as a matter of course."

Cattle and horses there were by thousands over the foothills and through the valleys. A few of these, such as the favorite mount of the *ranchero* (rancher) or of his *vaquero* (cowboy) were thoroughly domesticated, as were also the faithful oxen; but the great bands ranging over hill and plain were apparently as untamed as their wild ancestors in their native haunts.

The Rodeo. — One of the chief factors of the social life of the times was the frequent gathering in connection with the *rodeos*, when thousands of cattle were driven together from miles and miles of pastures to be separated and branded. Many a delightful time was enjoyed on such occasions. There was always plenty to eat. When the company had gathered and gayety and good cheer were the order of the day, one of the fattest and best of the animals was killed and choice portions broiled and eaten even before the skinning was completed.

The Fandango. — Following hard upon the *rodeo* came the *fandango*, or general dance. This holds a very prominent place in any description of the

early social life. It was of frequent occurrence, especially in the winter season, and it may be said that it was held everywhere. So constant was the dancing that it seemed as though the higher class of young people were "either riding on horseback or dancing all the time."

A wedding was frequently made the occasion for a notable *fandango*. Of course the marriage customs of those days admitted of no fine carriages or cars for wedding trips. The usual method was for the groom to mount the saddle horse behind the bride — and away they went on a keen gallop.

Other Amusements. — Besides the *rodeo* and the *fandango*, the chief amusements of those fine *caballeros* (gentlemen) and their *vaqueros* were horse-racing, in which but two horses usually competed at a time and which were often made the occasion for heavy wagers; bullfighting, which brought the greatest excitement to multitudes of onlookers and usually ended in the death of the bull; bull and bear fights, in which the hind foot of the bear was often tied to the fore foot of the bull, to equalize the struggle; and the lassoing of bears, a sport demanding a high degree of skill and intrepidity. Truly there was no lack of exciting sport.

The Homes. — The houses were of adobe and without other floors than the clean-swept earth.

After the walls were plastered outside and in with the same materials from which the adobe bricks were made, the whole was finished with lime wash in different colors. The typical roof

NATIVE CALIFORNIANS LASSOING A WILD BEAR

was of yellowish red tiles, similar to those used on the mission buildings.

The Women. — The women of rank were never seen with soiled dresses. They were proverbial for their spotless linen, of which it was the pride of every family to have a goodly store. All classes wore the same plain kind of dress to church in the morning, for they were instructed never to forget

" that all ranks of men and women were equal in the presence of the Creator;" but for home wear and for company they had many expensive dresses, some of silk or of velvet, others of lace, often of their own making. Of these they were very fond.

The Open-handed Hospitality. — Men and women alike were noted for their hospitality to all, whether friends or strangers. Missions were very commonly made to serve as hotels, but they never thought of charging for food and lodging. Likewise the traveler was made welcome at any of the *ranchos*, and he made no pretense of paying for anything received there. Yet for the guest to neglect to thank the lady for her kind hospitality was considered almost brutal. The usual formula was, "*Muchas gracias, señora,*" if the hostess was young or handsome or rich. This open-handed hospitality is well illustrated by the practice of leaving an uncounted pile of coins in the guest's bedchamber, from which the visitor who was in need of ready cash might help himself. This use of guest money was but one of the many striking and attractive features of the generous age.

There was a simplicity of contentment among the people of Hispano-California that makes it easy, and even natural, for the daydreamer or

superficial observer to wish that things might always have remained as they were in those days and to regret the coming of change as a dire misfortune if not a real calamity.

The Vices of the People. — But one does not have to look far below the surface to discover unlovely

A HOME IN HISPANO-AMERICA

qualities, yes, and positive vices, among these simple-hearted, care-free Californians. Cattle stealing, vagrancy, gambling and drinking were very common. Little advancement of culture or of commerce, little real progress in the things that make for modern civilization, could be looked for in our country under the rule of the Hispano-Californians, even with all their romance and charm.

How quickly and how completely was the simple life of those early days transformed! But this story must be reserved for later telling.

GROUP OF CALIFORNIA BIG TREES

PART THREE

ONCOMING OF THE AMERICANS

CHAPTER XV

A PRIZE AND A POLICY

Mexico's Neglect of California. — For many years before she finally fell into the hands of the United States, Alta California was bound to the mother country by ties that were very weak. Mexico's neglect of what was really her choicest possession was the cause of much comment and many complaints. Mr. Forbes, who wrote his history as early as 1835, saw how loose were the bonds that held the province to the mother country:

"California, however, is quite a distinct country from Mexico, and has nothing in common with it except that the present inhabitants are of the same family; it is therefore to be feared that on any cause of quarrel between the two countries it will be apt to separate itself from the parent state. This, from its distant situation and the difficulty of conveying troops from Mexico, would be easily effected; and although the present population is inadequate to form permanently an independent nation, yet the fashion of splitting countries into small independent portions has become so prevalent in the late Spanish possessions that an attempt to realize such a project may not be so improbable as it should now seem."

The very next year after these words were written, in fact, there occurred a revolution under Alvarado, and California was declared independent of Mexico. This independence was of short duration, however,

CATTLE AT RANCHO CHICO

for in a little while Alvarado was given the office of Mexican governor of California.

California a Prize. — California was a prize that might well have been coveted by the greatest nations of earth. Her unlimited resources were for the most part unknown and wholly unappreciated by the Mexican government. Her vast territory stretched away from San Diego on the south to Oregon on the north, and from the Pacific

Ocean away to the heart of the Rocky Mountains, embracing an area of nearly 450,000 square miles — enough in itself for a great western empire.

The enterprises carried on in connection with the Franciscan missions, such as the raising of cattle and sheep and the growing of grains, should have been at least a strong hint of the importance to Mexico of developing California's wonderful resources without delay. Doubtless the government felt secure during many years in simply holding the land, and imagined that at some convenient time in the distant future she would give real attention to California, and render such assistance as California ought to have. In the meantime California had little support and no real encouragement from the mother country. She was almost entirely ignored.

Many Nations Interested in California. — But if Mexico was unwilling to lift her eyes and behold the prize, other nations refused to be so blind. France had been impressed with the soft climate and fertile soil of the territory held by the Franciscan friars; England cast longing glances at the magnificent harbors along the coast, while British writers referred knowingly to negotiations supposed to be taking place with Mexico; and Russia appeared for some time to be on the eve of an advance movement from Fort Ross and Bodega,

which should at last take in the entire San Francisco Bay system.

More important still, the United States government had been keeping a jealous watch over the concerns of California ever since the wonderful explorations of Lewis and Clark. President Andrew Jackson wished that he might extend our western boundary, and endeavored to bring about the purchase of a large part of California in connection with his negotiations for Texas.

Commodore Jones Seizes Monterey. — A little later, in 1842, the feeling of American officials was shown by the action of Commodore Jones, who had been cruising along South America. He was led to believe that Mexico had declared war on the United States. Having been charged, as we are told, to "watch closely the French and British vessels, and not let them be the first to gain a presumptive right to any of the California harbors," he made all haste to sail to Monterey, where he caused the American flag to be raised over the Custom House and announced the conquest of California by the United States. This conquest proved premature; and when Jones learned that war had not been declared, he humbly pulled down his country's flag and retired with such grace as the circumstances would admit. Mexico was somewhat alarmed — and she had reason to be.

President Polk Desires California. — It is stated that President Polk, shortly after his inauguration in 1845, announced that the acquisition of California for the United States was one of the four great objects and tasks of his administration. The subject began to be quite commonly talked about at Washington and very generally favored. After Texas had been admitted to the Union, Daniel Webster in a letter to his son used these words: "You know my opinion to have been, and it is now, that the port of San Francisco would be twenty times as valuable to us as all Texas."

"Manifest Destiny" Claims California for the United States. — One of the chief causes of all this talk about acquiring California was the feeling of suspicion that England had been making secret plans and was likely, at any moment, to take the territory herself. Webster felt that she would "doubtless now take care that Mexico shall not cede California, nor any part thereof, to us;" and our minister to Mexico, Mr. Thompson, wrote, a little later: "I will not say what is our policy in regard to California. Perhaps it is that it remain in the hands of a weak power like Mexico, and that all the maritime powers may have the advantage of its ports. But one thing I will say, that it will be worth a war of twenty years to prevent England from acquiring it."

With this feeling toward England and a similar suspicion toward France, coupled with our own great desire for the prize, it is not surprising that our government "should consider the time ripe for some definite action in regard to this fair province." "Manifest destiny," it was said, had decreed that California should become a part of the United States. Such a course seems to have become the policy at Washington soon after the accession of President Polk. It remained however to determine when and how the result should actually be achieved. The United States strongly desired California and seemed no longer complete without her.

ON THE EDGE OF THE DESERT

CHAPTER XVI

THE FIRST OVERLAND IMMIGRANT TRAIN

Early Foreigners in California. — The first immigrant train to enter California from the United States reached the land of promise in the fall of 1841.

These were by no means the first foreigners to find their way hither, for as early as 1814 John Gilroy, an English cooper, had come, and a few years later had received permission to marry and settle where the prosperous town of Gilroy now stands. Nor were the men of '41 the very first to come overland, for in 1827 Jedediah Smith reached California with a small trapping party from the Rocky Mountains. And before 1841 a number of others — English, Scotch and those of other nationalities — had come by land or by sea. But this party of 1841, of which John Bidwell became the most distinguished pioneer, was the first regularly planned and successfully executed immigrant train from the United States to far-off California.

John Bidwell's Plan for Emigration. — In his twentieth year young Bidwell became possessed of the

idea of seeing the great Western Reserve, and that longing eventually led him to California.

The seventy-five dollars he had saved from his earnings at teaching school for the purpose of entering college, he spent in getting as far west as the Platte Reserve. There he became acquainted with men who, like himself, were filled with the thought of going on to the far West. Public meetings were held, and these were attended by settlers from far and near. Finally several hundred of them banded themselves together for the trip, naming themselves the " Western Emigration Society."

JOHN BIDWELL

Start of the Bartleson Party. — But troubles came and the movement went to pieces. Bidwell redoubled his exertions among more distant neighbors, and was at length successful in having a party of five families, numbering in all sixty-nine persons — men, women and children — pledged to make the start. " Our teams," he has told us, " were

of oxen, mules and horses. We had no cows, as the later emigrants usually had, and the lack of milk was a great privation to the children. It was understood that every one should have not less than a barrel of flour, with sugar and so forth to suit; but I laid in one hundred pounds of flour more than the usual quantity, besides other things. This I did because we were told that when we got into the mountains we probably would get out of bread and have to live on meat alone, which I thought would kill me, even if it did not others."

A man named Bartleson, from Jackson County, Missouri, was elected captain of the expedition. Not one of the party really knew which way to go. Of course they all knew that California was somewhere out West; beyond that they had almost nothing to guide them.

Fortunately they heard of a company of Roman Catholic missionaries who were on their way from St. Louis to establish a mission among the Flathead Indians of the Rocky Mountains. This company had engaged an old mountaineer named Fitzpatrick for a guide, and he would overtake the Bartleson party if they would wait another day. They chafed at the delay, but it proved most fortunate for them.

Union with Father De Smet's Party.—Accompanied by the missionary band, headed by Father De Smet,

the caravan traveled to Soda Springs, in Idaho. It was rare good fortune to be accompanied by such a man as De Smet, whom Bidwell later referred to as "genial, of fine presence and one of the saintliest men I have ever known." Until the party reached the Platte River nothing unusual happened. Headed by the intrepid Captain Fitzpatrick and the missionaries, they each day made what progress they could.

The Immigrant Train. — It was customary at night to draw the wagons together in the form of a hollow square, picket the animals inside and detail a guard to keep watch. At times the train was half a mile in length, but when danger threatened, the wagons kept near together, for safety. For most of the distance these first pioneers had their own roads to make; when obstacles were to be removed or gulches filled, all hands worked with a will.

Fear of the Indians. — From Fitzpatrick a great deal was learned about the Indians. As a precaution the cooking was usually done in the daytime, so as to have no fires at night. Of course the party was treated to an occasional scare from the Indians, as, for example, when one of the men named Dawson, who chanced to become separated from his companions while hunting, was said to have been so scared by forty friendly Cheyennes as to report that he had been surrounded by thousands

of Indians, who had taken from him his mule, his gun and most of his clothing.

Vast Herds of Buffaloes. — The buffalo was a new source of interest. Almost from the start many antelope and elk and much smaller game had been seen; but buffaloes were scarce till after the Platte

BUFFALOES AT GOLDEN GATE PARK

had been reached. In our own day it is impossible for young persons to conceive of the vast herds of these huge animals that swept over prairie and hillside, thundering at times all night long, making the very earth tremble with their wild, indescribable rush. Of these animals — long since practically extinct — Bidwell spoke thus: "I think I can truly say that I saw in one day more buffaloes than I could have seen of cattle in all my life. I have seen

the plain black with them for several days' journey as far as the eye could reach." At times some of the party were compelled, on the approach of one of these vast herds, to advance some distance from camp to turn or divide them by firing guns and

A REPRESENTATIVE OF A BYGONE RACE

making fires, lest they should in their mad sweep trample underfoot the entire camp.

By the time the party had reached the Sweetwater, the buffaloes had all but disappeared. Great numbers of mountain sheep had been seen at Scott's Bluffs, below Fort Laramie; but because of their exceeding wildness, none had been killed.

Division of the Party. — When the group of missionaries was about to leave lovely Soda Springs,

one-half of the emigrant party — now numbering sixty-four in all — was so discouraged that they decided to continue with the missionaries to Fort Hall rather than to venture into the unknown regions towards California. The Bidwell party held to the original purpose, and, taking an affectionate farewell of De Smet and his followers, entered, with grave misgivings, the tractless western wilds in the direction of the great Salt Lake.

Story of the Bidwell Division. — Let Bidwell go on with the story in his own words:

"September had come before we reached Salt Lake, which we struck at its northern extremity. Part of the time we had purposely traveled slowly to enable the men from Fort Hall the sooner to overtake us. But unavoidable delays were frequent; daily, often hourly, the road had to be made passable for our wagons by digging down steep banks, filling gulches, etc. Indian fires obscured mountains and valleys in a dense, smoky atmosphere, so that we could not see any considerable distance in order to avoid obstacles. . . . Trees were almost a sure sign of water in that region. But the mirage was most deceptive, magnifying stunted sagebrush on diminutive hillocks into trees and groves. Thus misled, we traveled all day without water, and at midnight found ourselves in a plain, level as a floor, incrusted with salt, and as white as snow. Crusts of salt broken up by our wagons, and driven by the chilly night wind like ice on the surface of a frozen pond, was to me a most striking counterfeit of a winter scene. This plain became softer and softer, until our poor, almost famished, animals could not pull our wagons. In fact, we were going direct to Salt Lake and did not know it. So, in search of water, we turned from a southerly to an easterly course, and went about ten miles, and

soon after daylight arrived at Bear River. So near to Salt Lake were we that the water in the river was too salt for us or our animals to use, but we had to use it; it would not quench thirst, but it did save life. The grass looked quite luxuriant, and sparkled as if covered with frost. But it was salt; our hungry, jaded animals refused to eat it, and we had to lie by a whole day to rest them before we could travel."

But it was not long before grass and water were found to the north by following the antelope trails. The condition of the animals then made it necessary to rest nearly a week. The low state of the provisions, on the other hand, compelled the party to go forward with the least possible delay. More than once those hardy emigrants had to travel all day and all night without water to drink.

The Wagons Left Behind. — After many trying delays and obstacles that tried the stoutest hearts, they came within sight of great mountains to the westward. Then it was quickly decided that the wagons must soon be left behind or the party would be overtaken by the snows before reaching California. None of that party could ever forget the terrible difficulties of such an undertaking. They were all inexperienced in the methods of packing horses, mules and oxen. The emigrant train soon became a caravan of loose packs, frightened horses, kicking mules and bellowing oxen.

Having oxen instead of horses, young Bidwell had a harder time than the others. Not infre-

quently the oxen with their packs were left from six to ten miles behind the party, and would only reach camp about midnight.

The party had been warned against going too far south and thus getting into a desert country: they could not then go west: there seemed nothing

From an old print

A CARAVAN EN ROUTE TO CALIFORNIA

else to do but to turn to the north and cross a range of mountains. Would they ever reach California traveling northward? The dangerous cañons leading towards the Columbia River were greatly feared.

At length they reached the river which, several years later, Frémont saw for the first time and named the Humboldt. Following the Humboldt many days, they came to the great Sink in western Nevada.

Captain Bartleson Leaves the Party. — Being compelled to drive the packed oxen, the emigrants made but eighteen or twenty miles a day. Some were in favor of leaving the oxen entirely and hastening on to California, where, they were assured, there was plenty of beef. One day, after circumstances that were peculiarly trying to Bidwell, Captain Bartleson and seven men, after taking most of the scanty store of meat, suddenly left the remainder of the party and started off, the captain calling out to those left behind to keep up if they could.

Following their trail for two or three days, all traces of the course taken by them were finally lost in the sand, and the members of Bidwell's party were thrown wholly upon their own resources. Keeping a general westerly course, they crossed the Carson River and followed the Walker River — these were not named till some years afterward — to the Sierra Nevada Mountains, not then knowing the name given to them.

While preparations were being made for the hard climb just after the better of the two remaining oxen was killed, who should come up from behind but the eight men who had gone ahead nine days before! Captain Bartleson was indeed a sorry sight as he ate the best supper that could be provided. In desperation he exclaimed: "Boys,

if I ever get back to Missouri, I will never leave that country. I would at this moment gladly eat out of the trough with my dogs!"

Difficulties in the Sierra Nevada. — Climbing the mountains with difficulties that can never be fully understood by others, the reunited party at

IN THE SIERRAS — THE HERMIT

length came to the summit; and in a little time they were fortunate in finding the extreme headwaters of the Stanislaus River. This was followed for several days. The last ox was killed and eaten to keep the emigrants from starving: after that the party killed whatever could be found — even crows and wildcats. Slowly they came down into the San Joaquin Valley; but seeing another range of mountains far off to the west, some be-

lieved it must yet be five hundred miles to California!

"The evening of the day we started down into the valley we were very tired, and when night came our party was strung along for three or four miles, and every man slept right where darkness overtook him. He would take off his saddle for a pillow and turn his horse or mule loose. . . . The jaded horses nearly perished with hunger and fatigue. When we overtook the foremost of the party the next morning we found that they had come to a pond of water, and one of them had killed a fat coyote; when I came up it was all eaten except the lights (lungs) and the windpipe, on which I made my breakfast. From that camp we saw timber to the north of us, evidently bordering a stream running west. It turned out to be the stream that we had followed down in the mountains — the Stanislaus River. As soon as we came in sight of the bottom land of the stream we saw an abundance of antelopes and sandhill cranes. We killed two of each the first evening. Wild grapes also abounded. The next day we killed thirteen deer and antelopes, jerked (dried) the meat and got ready to go on!"

The End of the Journey. — The starving time was over. Preparations were made to press on into California before the winter snows. The chosen course lay to the north of what proved to be Mount Diablo; but by means of a thinly clad Indian, found on horseback, those pioneers of pioneers were shortly brought to the ranch of Dr. John Marsh, one of the few foreign settlers in central California at that time, of whom they had heard before starting for California. They were indeed glad to learn that their journey was at an end.

It was almost exactly six months since they had set out from Sapling Grove.

Such is a brief account of the first overland train that reached California. Of the many that succeeded in reaching the journey's end after that, who can give the number?

CHAPTER XVII

JOHN A. SUTTER AND NEW HELVETIA

Sutter's Place in Our History. — General John A. Sutter will always hold a unique place in the early history of California. The deeds he performed and the influence he had, form one of those few great forces without any one of which it is difficult to see how the American possession of California could have been brought about. The story of Sutter clusters about Sutter's Fort, where stands to-day the capital city of a noble state.

Many times has this story been told, yet it never loses its charm in the retelling. Is it not passing strange that this man, who was neither Spaniard nor American, should assume a place of such vital importance in the days of California's infancy? Yet it was his great admiration and love for the American people and their free government that gave him such a conspicuous part in the drama which added this brilliant new star to the American galaxy of states.

Who was this man whose name was for years on the tongue of every American journeying toward California? What was Sutter's Fort, the

objective point for those scores of emigrant trains, slowly but steadfastly winding their way toward

CAPTAIN JOHN A. SUTTER

the setting sun? And what gave it such vast importance and far-reaching reputation?

His Early Life. — John Augustus Sutter was born in the Grand Duchy of Baden, Germany, in 1803, the son of a Lutheran clergyman who, after re-

moving to Switzerland, secured for his family the rights of Swiss citizenship. John received a good education, both civil and military, and gained much experience in the service of the French army. In 1834 he sailed for New York with the purpose of establishing a Swiss colony in America. His restless disposition prevented his settling down quietly in any of the numerous places he visited until he reached California in the summer of 1839, fresh from the Sandwich Islands.

He Becomes Guardian of the Sacramento Frontier. — The Spaniards had made no settlements on the Sacramento, and it was reported that the Indians of the region were very hostile and much given to stealing horses and cattle; so Governor Alvarado was more than willing to grant Sutter permission to settle there, establish his colony, and erect a suitable fort.

As we have seen, this new guardian of the Sacramento frontier purchased from the Russians near Fort Ross a little vessel and considerable other property, including some rusty cannon and old flintlock muskets. This cargo of ordnance inspired in the minds of the California Indians a wholesome fear and respect for Sutter, who had before felt insecure for lack of protection.

Building of Sutter's Fort. — And thus was builded the famous Sutter's Fort, in the midst of New Hel-

vetia, as the captain preferred to call his grand estate. Standing in the eastern part of the present city of Sacramento, some two miles from the Sacramento River and a shorter distance from the American River, it enjoyed the advantages of a site possessing great strategic value.

It is not strange that the Mexicans should con-

REMAINS OF SUTTER'S FORT BEFORE RESTORATION

sider it the key to California. Little did Sutter think that he was then laying foundations which were to prove one of the most important means in the creation of the magnificent empire of the Pacific States of America.

Frémont's Description of the Fort. — The beginnings of the Fort, erected in the fall of 1839, consisted of an adobe house with roof of *tules*, and two other smaller buildings, which were shortly afterwards de-

stroyed by fire. The Fort itself, when completed, presented a formidable appearance, not only to the Indians who had been troublesome, but to the Hispano-Californians themselves. Captain Frémont thus described it as he saw it in 1844:

"The fort is a quadrangular adobe structure, mounting twelve pieces of artillery (two of them brass,) and capable of admitting a garrison of 1000 men; this at present consists of forty Indians, in uniform — one of whom is always found on duty at the gate. . . . The whites in the employ of Captain Sutter, American, French and German, number thirty men. The inner wall is formed into buildings comprising the common quarters, with blacksmith and other workshops, the dwelling house with a large distillery house, and other buildings occupying more the center of the area."

This most important and impressive landmark had with the passing of the years become weather-beaten and all but destroyed, when fortunately the order of Native Sons of the Golden West undertook a complete restoration of the fort; and so well has the work been done that doubtless for centuries the new Sutter's Fort will stand as a perpetual monument to the achievements of its founder.

The motives that led to the erection of Sutter's Fort are to be found in the need of security against the Indians and — not less important — in the enterprising spirit and relish for romantic adventure of the captain; for Sutter had come with the idea

of founding a Swiss colony, after some European model, in North America.

Sutter Becomes Lord of the Land. — In June, 1841, Sutter visited the governor at Monterey, was declared a citizen of the Mexican republic, and received a grant of the land where he had located, to the

SUTTER'S FORT, AS RESTORED BY THE NATIVE SONS OF THE GOLDEN WEST

extent of eleven leagues. He was also commissioned as an officer of the government.

Thus armed with citizenship and an officer's commission, and fortified with cannon and faithful Kanakas (natives of Hawaii), with scores of Indians ready to do his bidding, the commander of New Helvetia might well boast himself lord of all he surveyed. His great estate was made still greater by the addition by purchase and personal services of the *sobrante* or wide surplus of land

within the bounds of the Alvarado survey. He had come into possession of thousands of sheep, cattle and horses, which with the natural increase of a few years gave Sutter the basis of well-nigh unlimited wealth.

The Height of His Prosperity. — The enterprises and activities set in motion by this "lord of the land" are worthy to be compared with those of the great Franciscan missions of the preceding generation. The opening of the eventful year of 1848 saw him in the height of prosperity.

"He had then completed his establishment at the fort; had performed all the conditions of his grants of land; had, at an expense of at least $25,000, cut a race (water-run) of three miles in length and nearly completed a flouring mill . . . near the present town of Brighton; had expended toward the erection of a sawmill near the town of Coloma about $10,000; had over a thousand acres of land in wheat, which promised a yield of over 40,000 bushels . . .; was then the owner of about 8000 head of cattle, over 2000 head of horses and mules, over 1000 head of hogs, and over 2000 head of sheep; and was in the undisturbed, undisputed and quiet possession of the extensive lands granted him by the Mexican government. From the center of his broad domain could be seen, as far as the eye could reach on every hand, a prospect to gladden the heart of the husbandman."—Shuck, *Representative Men of the Pacific.*

His Fort the Destination of Immigrants. — In the meantime emigrant trains began to find their way to California from the States, touching in almost every case at Sutter's Fort as the first settlement after the fatiguing trip across the Sierras. In

greater and greater numbers came these hardy settlers, year by year. But Sutter never for a moment permitted his Mexican citizenship and official commission to restrict his unbounded hospitality and his most timely assistance to those in need. His noble efforts put forth to rescue the Donner party, winter-bound and starving in the high Sierras, illustrate the fact that he could not turn a deaf ear to the cry of human suffering. It is no wonder that Captain Sutter's name became the talisman in every "prairie schooner" and that Sutter's Fort became more and more the goal of the westward traveling bands of pioneers.

He Transfers His Citizenship. — Nor is it any wonder that Mexican officers grew suspicious of the guardian of their north frontier as tokens of his friendship toward all things American multiplied, or that they became fearful lest Sutter's warm welcome to the *gringos* might result seriously to California as a Mexican province. Their fears were well founded. At sunrise on July 11, 1846, Sutter, acting no longer as a Mexican citizen but now as a loyal American, hoisted the American flag above the fort amidst the roar of cannon. The American conquest was completed; the change of flags had really taken place — a change that meant a wholly new character for California and a new history for Sutter's Fort.

The Gold Discovery Works Hardship to Sutter. — But one event that directed the eyes of the world toward the new land of promise proved the undoing of the genial and generous commander of the Fort. It was the discovery of gold. This epoch-making discovery was made possible by the enterprising spirit of Captain Sutter: it enriched America, but it impoverished Sutter. Operations ceased at the mills; fields of ripened wheat stood unharvested; half-finished leather spoiled in the vats of the tannery; thousands of cattle were slaughtered or driven away by thieves. "The same thing," he sadly tells us, "was in every branch of business which I carried on at the time. I had not an idea that people could be so mean."

But if the gold discovery impoverished Sutter, behold how it enriched America! It furnished a chapter of history the like of which has never been written. It laid the foundation for a great commonwealth — the Empire State of the Pacific. It poured into the lap of the nation a volume of wealth that could save our credit in the darkest days of the Civil War. Well may the Americans — as did the Mexicans before us — call New Helvetia, transformed as if by miracle into the teeming city of Sacramento, the key of California.

A New Era for Sacramento. — Through her victory in the fight for the seat of the state govern-

ment, Sacramento, queen of the rich valley where once roamed the vast herds belonging to the hospitable Sutter, yet remains in an important sense the key of California, as she views the dawning of a new and greater golden era of enterprise and efficiency.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE STORY OF THE ILL-FATED DONNER PARTY

Start of the Donner Party. — On an April morning of the eventful year 1846 another little band of emigrants, thirty-one in all, set out hopefully from Springfield, Illinois, for far-off California. The party, made up mostly of three families, had been originated by James F. Reed, but it received its name from two brothers, George and Jacob Donner, who had decided to join Reed.

To the train of ten or twelve wagons were united other emigrants along the route, until on reaching the valley of the Platte it formed a caravan of about forty wagons. Filled with eager expectation and free from thought of peril, the younger members found themselves for many days enjoying a novel pleasure trip as delightful as it was novel. The sky was bright, the spring air balmy, and big game abounded everywhere. By early July Fort Laramie was reached, and there Independence Day was celebrated in true patriotic style.

The Party Divided. — But the parting of the ways was soon reached. Should the eager emigrants con-

tinue on the old Fort Hall road, or should they take the "Hasting's Cut-off" along the southern shore of the Great Salt Lake? The majority wisely proceeded on the old road, and in due time reached California in safety. Had not the other members of the party, eighty-seven persons in all, decided, on evil counsel, to save time and three hundred miles of distance by the short cut, the "Ill-fated Donner party" would never have been a fact in our history, for the great "disaster" would never have befallen.

The Hasting's Cut-off was in reality not a road at all; indeed there was not so much as a trail. The course along Weber's cañon was so frightfully rough as to be almost absolutely impassable; and when at last the shore of the Great Lake was reached, it was found that an entire month had been consumed instead of a single week, and that the jaded cattle were quite unfit to cross the wide-stretching desert beyond. This, we are told, "was a dreary, desolate, alkali waste; not a living thing could be seen; it seemed as though the hand of death had been laid upon the country." Any attempt to describe the perils and privations of the desert would fail to convey an adequate impression to one who has never actually experienced them.

Provisions Run Low. — In spite of the severe economy practiced by the party, an inventory of the

provisions on hand showed unmistakably that the supply was insufficient to last through to California. Recognizing the peril of the situation, C. T. Stanton and William McClutchen bravely volunteered to go

IN THE HIGH SIERRAS

for help. They hastened on in advance to Sutter's Fort for additional supplies for the belated travelers.

A most deplorable quarrel between James Reed and John Snyder ended in the killing of Snyder and the consequent banishment of Reed from the company. Thereafter Reed pursued his solitary way in advance; but he was careful very frequently to leave some sign or communication for his distressed family in the party following on behind.

Days and weeks dragged wearily by; progress

was painfully slow; the party once so buoyant and hopeful seemed now bereft of all spirit and almost of life itself. The snowy summit of the Sierras looked gloomy and forbidding and gave a stern warning of approaching winter.

Fresh hope lightened every heart on the nineteenth day of October; for while winding along the crystal waters of the Truckee River the downcast party was met by brave Stanton leading seven mules packed with provisions. McClutchen had not been able to return on account of illness; but Stanton brought the welcome news that Reed was alive and far on toward Sutter's Fort.

Approach of Winter. — Alas! hope suddenly gave place to new fear, and fear turned speedily to consternation and despair; for the winter which they dreaded made its unwelcome appearance a month earlier than usual. The wagons could not be dragged through the snow — that was most certain — and they were therefore reluctantly left behind. Provisions were packed on the oxen, and the party passed on in a state of desperation. Only three more miles to the summit — but meanwhile came the snow! Silent and beautiful it fell at first, but remorseless as the touch of time. Early morning saw the chill mantle of death everywhere spread over hill and valley. Every avenue of escape was now closed; the long and cruel winter

must be braved amidst the inhospitable snows of the high Sierras, or men, women and children must be wrapped there in their snowy winding sheets.

At Donner Lake. — "The misery endured during those four months at Donner Lake in our little dark cabins under the snow," wrote one of the survivors, "would fill pages and make the coldest hearts ache."

Let imagination picture as best it can the horrors endured, the misery experienced, for we must gently draw the veil over the harrowing scenes of that camp of the dying and of living death. The wild beasts howled; the storm king raged; then the moaning pines sympathetically lulled to grateful sleep. Short allowances of food were followed by actual starvation.

Relief Comes. — Help was coming — though, alas! for many it came too late. Captain Sutter, generous in truth to a fault, on learning that families of immigrants were perishing on the shores of the mountain lake, set to work in earnest to send immediate relief. The first relief party, headed by Captain R. P. Tucker, reached the famishing camp on February 19, 1847; and on the twenty-second a party of twenty-three persons started for Sutter's Fort.

Soon the second relief party came, headed by

Reed, and battled bravely to release another band of snow-bound victims from "Starved Camp." In all, four relief parties pressed onward to Donner Lake in the noble work of rescuing the unfortunates.

But many were never rescued except by the

BLUE CAÑON IN THE SIERRA NEVADA

release of death. Of the thirty-one emigrants who left Springfield, Illinois, that spring morning, only eighteen lived to reach California. Of the eighty-three persons who were snowed in at Donner Lake, forty-two perished. Most of the survivors were taken to Sutter's Fort, the common meeting place for all incoming Americans, and there

the kindly captain did all in his power to lessen their sufferings and to make them comfortable. Some of these immigrants have lived to ripe old age, useful citizens of California, contributing worthily to the development of the Commonwealth.

CHAPTER XIX

JOHN CHARLES FRÉMONT AND THE BEAR FLAG REVOLUTION

Frémont's First and Second Expeditions. — John Charles Frémont, a young officer of the United States Engineers, and the son-in-law of United States Senator Thomas H. Benton, is the central figure in the actual conquest of California.

JOHN C. FRÉMONT

In 1842 he led his first expedition to the Rocky Mountains for the purpose of examining the region of South Pass and finding the best road for overland travel to the Pacific coast. Kit Carson acted as guide. Returning by way of the Platte River, the party reached St. Louis in October; and a fortnight later he was in Washington, preparing his report for the government.

During 1843 and 1844 Frémont led a second

expedition, this time to Oregon and California. Of this he afterward wrote: "During a protracted absence of fourteen months in the course of which we had necessarily been exposed to great varieties of weather and climate, no one case of serious sickness had ever occurred among us."

His Third Expedition. — In May, 1845, he was placed at the head of a new government expedition for the Pacific coast, with the title of Lieutenant-Colonel. It was near the end of that year when he entered California with a company of about sixty men — surveyors, guides and assistants — and some two hundred horses. His object, it was said, was "to explore the most direct routes to the Pacific coast, and to do topographical work in California."

War with Mexico had not been begun at the time Frémont left Washington, but it was looked forward to as almost a certainty in the near future. He tells us in the "Memoirs" of his life that: "As affairs resolved themselves, California stood out as the chief subject in the impending war; and with Mr. Bancroft and other governing men at Washington it became a firm resolve to hold it for the United States. To them it seemed reasonably sure that California would eventually fall to England or to the United States, and that the eventuality was near. This was talked over fully

during the time of preparation for the third expedition, and the contingencies anticipated and weighed. For me no distinct course or definite instructions could be laid down, but the probabilities were made known to me as well as what to do when they became facts. The distance was too great for timely communication; but failing this I was given discretion to act."

Frémont in California. — Colonel Frémont left his men in camp in the Sacramento Valley and proceeded at once to Monterey in January, 1846. With Thomas O. Larkin he called upon José Castro, the commandant-general, explained his errand and readily secured permission to conduct explorations toward the Colorado River. He was careful to point out that his men were "citizens and not soldiers."

Instead of pursuing a southeasterly course through the open country of the San Joaquin Valley, Frémont with his sixty armed men went west and southwest through what were then the most thickly settled valleys of California. This angered Castro, who declared that such a course was illegal. On the fifth of March, Frémont received orders to leave the Department of California forthwith, with the threat that failure to comply would be followed by the use of force. After expressing his astonishment he tartly replied to Castro that he refused

to comply with "an order insulting to my government and myself."

Frémont Fortifies Gavilan Peak. — The situation suddenly took on a warlike aspect. Frémont took possession of Gavilan Peak, and there built a strong, rough fort of logs. "While this was being built," he informs us, "a tall sapling was prepared, and on it, when all was ready, the American flag was raised amidst the cheers of the men." He remained on the Peak for several days, while Castro seemed to be adding to his forces below and preparing for an attack.

Frémont Retreats Northward. — But Frémont withdrew before any attack was made. He retreated through the San Joaquin Valley, and left Sutter's Fort about March 24 for Oregon. No attempt at pursuit was made by the Mexicans.

When he reached the Klamath country in southern Oregon, Colonel Frémont found that his progress was somewhat impeded by hostile Indians. While thus delayed something happened that made him decide to turn back and retrace his steps into California. What was it that really caused him to make this decision? That it was not the Indians nor the snow we may be quite sure. In order to understand his movements at this time it is necessary to know something of the "Gillespie Mission."

The "Gillespie Mission" to Frémont. — Lieutenant Archibald Gillespie had come to California by way of Mexico, arriving at Monterey on April 17, while Frémont was making his way slowly through northern California. He was exceedingly anxious to see Frémont, for he was the bearer of secret dispatches from Washington. Not finding him at Monterey, he hastened to Sutter's Fort, and from there took the trail with five men for Oregon. Learning by courier that Gillespie sought to overtake him, Frémont took a few men and went south to meet the lieutenant. Not far from the boundary line the men met and the message was delivered; Frémont at once decided to retrace his steps into the heart of California.

What was the meaning of these dispatches borne by Gillespie? Concerning this question there has been much dispute. But the truth seems to be that Gillespie was commissioned to instruct Frémont to hold himself in readiness at some point convenient to San Francisco to coöperate with the land and naval forces in case of war with Mexico. In other words, Gillespie was to coöperate with Frémont and Larkin in bringing about the peaceful annexation of California, or if war actually came, the American officers were to act together in seizing California by force.

Frémont's Sudden Return. — Frémont's unexpected return excited widespread curiosity. Settlers and

adventurers flocked to his camp, ready to follow where he might lead. On the other hand, General Castro was not in a pleasant frame of mind toward these foreigners, as the Americans were called. He was threatening to drive them all out of California, and also, some think, to compel a large train of immigrants, expected within a very short time, to turn back across the wide and dreary plains. While such conditions existed trouble was surely not far to seek.

Frémont Seizes American Horses. — Let John Bidwell tell the story of what happened next:

"It so happened that Castro had sent Lieutenant Arce to the north side of the Bay of San Francisco to collect scattered Government horses. Arce had secured about one hundred and fifty and was taking them to the south side of the bay, *via* Sutter's Fort, and to the San Joaquin Valley. . . . Frémont, hearing that the horses were passing, sent a party . . . and captured them. This of course was done before he had orders or any positive news that war had been declared. . . . Thus, without giving the least notice even to Sutter, the great friend of Americans, or to Americans in general, scattered and exposed as they were all over California, he precipitated the war." — *Century*, Vol. XLI.

Capture of Sonoma. — The next step speedily followed. On June 14, at the break of day, a party of some thirty-two Americans, with Ezekiel Merritt as a sort of leader, surrounded the house of General M. G. Vallejo, the leading resident of Sonoma and

one of the most distinguished men of California. Vallejo was not looking for an enemy and of course was taken wholly by surprise; he, his brother Salvador, his brother-in-law Jacob Leese, and Victor Prudon soon found themselves prisoners of war.

"To whom are we to surrender?" asked the wife of General Vallejo, in utter amazement. And when it was learned that no one of the party claimed to have any definite orders from Frémont, there was a scene of great confusion. Some wished to back down and leave the place; others held that if they failed to stick to their purpose they would be little better than robbers and horse thieves. The whole project seemed likely to be abandoned when William B. Ide made an earnest appeal to his comrades to stick to the task they had begun with honorable motives. That speech turned the tide and made Ide the real leader of the Bear Flag Revolution. Sonoma was captured and the distinguished prisoner was conducted to Frémont's headquarters, then to Sutter's Fort, where he was given the best accommodations the place afforded; but he was constantly guarded.

Ide remained at Sonoma with twenty-four men to make secure the conquest. But what allegiance should these men own? What flag should they raise? Neither Ide nor Frémont then knew that there was war between the United States and

Mexico; moreover Ide seemed to feel uncertain as to what were Frémont's real wishes on the whole question of the revolution.

The Bear Flag is Raised. — Nevertheless Ide was ready; he suggested a declaration of independence and a republic of California. A flag was needed. So the famous Bear Flag was made. Benjamin Dewell, one of the latest survivors of the party, tells us: "The flag was made in the front room of the barracks, just at the left of the door, and most of the sewing was done by myself. 'Bill' Todd painted the bear and star with black ink. The colors — red, white and blue — were used because they were the colors of the United States Flag. The bear was selected as representing the strongest animal found in that section of the country. The language of the flag was, 'A bear stands his ground always, and as long as the stars shine we stand for the cause.'"

THE BEAR FLAG OF CALIFORNIA

The native Californians, watching the movements of the Americans with idle curiosity and taking note of the proclamations that Ide was nailing to the flagpole almost daily, were more puzzled than angered. Some of them, looking up to the oddest of all flags they had ever seen floating at the top of the staff, and evidently not

impressed by the artistic finish, were heard to call out, "*Coche!*" (pig).

Organization of the California Republic. — A simple organization was agreed to, and the men of the Bear Flag party were divided into three small companies, with Henry L. Ford, Granville P. Swift and Samuel J. Hensley as captains. Ide declared that it was his object "to establish and perpetuate a just, liberal, and honorable government, which should secure to all civil and religious liberty; insure security of life and property; detect and punish crime and injustice; encourage virtue, industry and literature; foster agriculture and manufactures, and guarantee freedom to commerce."

Short Life of the Republic. — Whether the Bear Flag Revolution was wise or unwise and what purposes were really accomplished are questions that need not concern us here. For before it could in fact be pronounced either a success or a failure Commodore Sloat arrived in California, the American flag was raised at Monterey, and the independent movement ended when, on the tenth day of July, 1846, the Stars and Stripes were substituted for the Bear Flag. Thus ended the brief chapter of the California Republic.

CHAPTER XX

THE AMERICAN CONQUEST OF CALIFORNIA

National Importance of the Conquest of California. — The taking of the province of California by the forces of the United States proved to be the greatest act in the drama of our war with Mexico. Viewed as an expression of American policy it carried the deepest meaning to our nation as a whole. President Polk had earnestly endeavored to bargain for California by peaceful means through John Slidell's mission to Mexico; but this plan to gain peaceful possession of the valuable province ended in failure.

Question of Slavery as Affecting California. — The question of extending slavery had come to overshadow every other public question that concerned the American people. There is now no doubt that many of those who were in favor of the acquisition of California not only hoped but also definitely expected that here would be a great stretch of territory into which slavery could easily be introduced.

For many years a kind of balance between free states and slave states had been kept up by admitting into the Union a state in which slavery was forbidden only when another was ready to

be admitted with slavery. In this manner the equality of numbers of United States senators from the North and from the South had been maintained, since each state — whatever its size — is entitled to equal representation in the national Senate.

In view of these facts, what was to be done about slavery in California if this state were added to the Union? Could slavery be rightfully introduced here, especially after it had been definitely abolished by law throughout the territory of Mexico in 1829? Or even if that should prove no real obstacle, would slave labor be suited to the soil, climate and occupations of this western province? These questions, and others of the same troublesome kind, were of very deep interest and concern to the leading men in the political life of the nation.

American Settlers Hasten the Conquest. — The American conquest of California was made doubly certain by the increasing numbers of Americans who came to settle, bringing with them their customs, their habits, their language and their ideas of law and government. The Mexican inhabitants of California were, if we make allowance for exceptions, viewed with contempt by settlers from "the States:" indeed they were often held to be of little more real consequence than the Indians. As more and more of the Americans

came in and showed such sentiments, there was naturally a good deal of angry talking about these *gringos*, and threats were rather freely made to drive them out of the country.

But before the conquest really took place, there was a change of temper on the part of the more intelligent class of native-born Californians. These natives of California were undoubtedly superior in intelligence and refinement to the great mass of Mexican population. They themselves began to talk of Mexico as a foreign country; and as they mingled more and more with the better class of Americans, the two peoples began to understand each other better, and in many instances very friendly relations sprang up between them. Moreover some of them — and General Vallejo first of all — perceived that the American element and the American civilization must in the end almost certainly win the day in California.

In the meantime every year, from 1841 onward, saw the coming of new American settlers, and every year there were rumors about setting up an independent government here; while on the other hand the native Californians talked much about driving the grasping Americans out of the country. In the meantime, too, events were hastening to a crisis between the United States and Mexico. The Mexican War was about to be begun.

War with Mexico Declared. — On May 13, 1846, after several battles had already been fought, Congress declared that war existed by act of Mexico. The time was ripe for the seizure of California by the regular forces of the United States.

American Flag Raised at Monterey. — Commodore John D. Sloat, commanding officer of the Pacific

CUSTOM HOUSE AT MONTEREY

Squadron at the time, while at Mazatlán received information of actual warfare, from the city of Mexico, through Dr. William M. Wood, a surgeon of the United States Navy. Doctor Wood informed the commodore "of the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, and of General Taylor's operations on the Rio Grande." This information led Sloat to proceed at once to Monterey, and accordingly resulted in the hoisting

of the Stars and Stripes and the occupation of California by American forces.

The frigate *Savannah* arrived at Monterey, July 2, 1846, with the brave commander on board. Five days later, after the proclamations had been written and preparations had been made for similar action at other important points, Commodore Sloat ordered the act that signalized the conquest. In the log of the *Savannah* for July 7 we find the original record of this act:

"At 10 A.M. an expedition, consisting of the boats of the ships *Cyane* and *Levant*, with about 85 marines and 140 sailors under the command of Captain Mervine, left this ship. At 10.20 landed all the marines and a detachment of sailors at the Custom House wharf, read a Proclamation from the Commander-in-Chief to the inhabitants of California, and hoisted the American ensign on the Custom House flagstaff. During the reading, the ship's company were kept at their quarters, and on the hoisting of the ensign ashore, this ship fired a salute of 21 guns. At 11, the boats returned to their respective ships, leaving the marines in garrison in town."

In the proclamation read to the inhabitants of California the commodore declared: " The two nations being actually at war by this transaction, I shall hoist the standard of the United States at Monterey immediately, and shall carry it throughout California."

Stars and Stripes at Various Points. — On the morning of July 9, acting under instructions from

his superior, Captain Montgomery of the U. S. S. *Portsmouth* hoisted the American flag at Yerba Buena (San Francisco), with a salute of twenty-one guns, followed by three hearty cheers on shore and on board. At noon of the same day the national ensign was substituted for the Bear Flag at Sonoma. Our flag was hoisted in San José on July 13, after the departure of General Castro and the taking of the pueblo by Captain Thomas Fallon.

The attitude of the naval officers on the question of holding California was well expressed in one of Commodore Sloat's letters to Captain Montgomery, dated July 12: "All I have to say at present is, that we have hoisted the flag and must keep it up at every hazard;" and in Montgomery's instructions to Captain Fallon at San José, dated the day following: "Of course you will understand that it [the United States flag] is not again to be hauled down."

Stockton Completes the Conquest. — Commodore Stockton arrived at Monterey on July 15, direct from Honolulu, and at Sloat's request succeeded to the command of the American forces on land and sea. Close upon Stockton's arrival came Captain John C. Frémont from northern California and the late scenes of the Bear Flag Revolution.

Commodore Stockton was very active. He decided at once to extend the conquest to the south,

and accordingly organized the forces of Frémont and the volunteers who offered their services into

MAP SHOWING THE MEXICAN CESSIONS

the California Battalion of Mounted Riflemen. This battalion was the chief instrument in completing the conquest which was brought about without a single real battle. One of the officers of

the battalion afterward said: " We simply marched all over California from Sonoma to San Diego and raised the American flag without opposition or protest. We tried to find an enemy, but could not."

On August 17, Stockton issued a proclamation from Los Angeles declaring California entirely free from Mexican dominion.

It is true that the conquest was not entirely completed until later in the fall of 1846, and that the repulse of General Kearny at San Pascual might have been disastrous but for the timely help from Frémont. Yet we may say with truth that the real conquest of the territory of California by the authorized forces of the United States was begun by the hoisting of the Stars and Stripes over the Custom House of Monterey on the seventh day of July by order of Commodore Sloat, and was practically completed by the dramatic capture of Los Angeles less than six weeks later.

Thus we have seen that while war was in progress between the United States and Mexico, the Mexican province of California was conquered and became for a brief time a military possession of our federal government. What should finally become of the prize, whose value was as yet known only in part, would depend upon the outcome of the war and the terms of the treaty that should be made at its close.

PART FOUR

THREE EVENTFUL YEARS

CHAPTER XXI

"EUREKA!" — THE DISCOVERY OF GOLD

The Most Remarkable Event in California's History. — Of all the remarkable events in the remarkable history of California, the discovery of gold by James Marshall, in 1848, will perhaps always hold the chief distinction. The event itself possessed little dramatic interest, but it introduced a period of history and an element of romance in real life that is unique.

JAMES MARSHALL

Marshall — like Columbus before him — was not personally enriched by his great discovery: nevertheless the discovery itself, like that of Columbus, was world-wide

in its consequences, transforming in its character.

Previous Gold Discoveries. — To be sure it had been known years before 1848 that gold existed in California. Bidwell tells of a discovery of gold near Los Angeles in 1841, by Baptiste Ruelle, who afterwards claimed also to have found a few "colors" near the American River in 1843. The same authority likewise refers to the claim of a Mexican in his employ, Pablo Gutierrez by name, insisting that he had found gold on Bear River in the early spring of 1844. At other times, there can be no doubt, gold was actually found in small quantities.

Such discoveries, however, were like the discovery of America by the Northmen, premature — "a match struck in the dark." As Columbus' discovery put an end to doubt and actually opened the door to the Western Hemisphere, so that by Marshall focused the eyes of the world on California and urged on the mighty westward movement of the American people, even to the gates of the farthest Orient.

Importance of Sutter's Fort. — Sutter's Fort or New Helvetia occupied, as we have already observed, a very important site. It was situated on the Sacramento River — practically at the head of navigation for larger craft — and a little to the south of the tributary El Rio de los Americanos, or the Ameri-

can River. From the standpoint of government as well as in a military sense it was the key to the wide-stretching valley which had been scarcely entered and was certainly very imperfectly known by the Mexicans. Year by year it became more important as the chief meeting place for all American immigrants, coming down after their wearisome journeyings from the Sierra Nevada into the heart of California. At the Fort the incoming Americans and other foreigners were glad of the chance to purchase much-needed supplies of food and clothing. Those just from the United States having articles to sell found eager purchasers. The penniless found ready employment and to everybody was extended Captain Sutter's boundless hospitality.

Building the Sawmill at Coloma. — In order better to meet the obligations he felt resting upon him to satisfy the wants of the increasing numbers of American immigrants, as well as to increase his already very large business,. he planned to build a flour mill, where he might grind his annual crops of wheat. To build the mill lumber was necessary; and it was partly because of this demand for lumber that he also decided to erect a sawmill.

But meanwhile James W. Marshall, a native of New Jersey, had come to the Fort and now wished to go into the lumber business. Marshall, a wheelwright by occupation, was a quiet, industrious,

honest man, but somewhat queer or eccentric in character; moreover, he did not possess very keen business judgment.

In the fall of 1847 Sutter and Marshall formed a partnership. Sutter was to furnish the money to

LOG CABIN AMONG THE BIG TREES

build the sawmill and Marshall was to select the site and run the mill for a certain compensation.

After several days of diligent searching, Marshall and his assistants reached a spot on the South Fork of the American River, called *Culloomah* by the Indians, which seemed to him the right spot. This was a small valley about fifteen hundred feet above sea level, forty-five miles northeast of Sutter's Fort and so situated that it could be reached by wagon.

Marshall's Story of the Gold Find. — Let Marshall tell his own story:

"You may be sure Mr. Sutter was pleased when I reported my success. . . . In August, everything being ready, we freighted two wagons with tools and provisions, and accompanied by six men I left the fort, and after a good deal of difficulty reached this place one beautiful afternoon and formed our camp on yon little rise of ground right above the town.

"Our first business was to put up log houses, as we intended remaining here all winter. . . . We then cut timber, and fell to work hewing it for the framework of the mill. The Indians gathered about us in great numbers. I employed about forty of them to assist us with the dam, which we put up in a kind of way in about four weeks. In digging the foundation of the mill we cut some distance into the soft granite; we opened the fore bay and then I left for the fort. . . .

"I returned in a few days, and found everything favorable, all the men being at work in the ditch. When the channel was opened it was my custom every evening to raise the gate and let the water wash out as much sand and gravel through the night as possible; and in the morning, while the men were getting breakfast, I would walk down, and, shutting off the water, look along the race and see what was to be done. . . .

"One morning in January — it was a clear, cold morning — as I was taking my usual walk along the race after shutting off the water, my eye was caught with the glimpse of something shining in the bottom of the ditch. There was about a foot of water running then. I reached my hand down and picked it up: it made my heart thump, for I was certain it was gold. The piece was about half the size and of the shape of a pea. After taking it out I sat down and began to think right hard. I thought it was gold, and yet it did not seem to be of the right color; all the gold coin I had seen was of a reddish tinge; this looked more like brass. I recalled to mind all the metals I

had ever seen or heard of, but I could find none that resembled this. Suddenly the idea flashed across my mind that it might be iron pyrites. I trembled to think of it! . . . Putting one of the pieces on a hard river stone, I took another and commenced hammering it. It was soft and didn't break: it therefore must be gold, but largely mixed with some other metal, very likely silver; for pure gold, I thought, would certainly have a brighter color.

"When I returned to our cabin for breakfast I showed the two pieces to my men. They were all a good deal excited, and had they not thought that the gold only existed in small quantities they would have abandoned everything and left me to finish my job alone. However, to satisfy them, I told them that as soon as we had the mill finished we would devote a week or two to gold hunting and see what we could make out of it.

"While we were working in the race after this discovery we always kept a sharp lookout, and in the course of three or four days we had picked up about three ounces — our work still progressing as lively as ever, for none of us imagined at that time that the whole country was sowed with gold." — *Century*, Vol. XLI.

Exact Date of the Discovery. — The date of Marshall's discovery has been established beyond much doubt by an entry found long afterwards in the diary of Henry W. Bigler, one of the laborers at the mill, who fortunately had formed the habit of keeping a record of things that happened in this new land. If more and greater California pioneers had kept regular journals in early days, these would have proved a great boon to us of a later day, and many a disputed question would long ago

have been definitely settled. The entry in Bigler's diary is dated Monday, January 24, 1848, and it reads, simply:

"This day some kind of mettle was found in the tailrace that looks like goald, first discovered by James Martial, the Boss of the Mill."

Henry Bigler was the first man to find gold outside the tailrace. It was part of his task to provide the camp with fresh venison; and on several of his hunting expeditions in the surrounding hills his keen eye detected particles of the precious metal along the banks of the river.

The Secret is Out. — Notwithstanding the wish of Sutter and Marshall that the discovery be kept secret, at least till the mill should be completed, the news began to spread immediately. As a consequence of Marshall's telling some of his men; of Bigler's hunting expeditions, which he pretended were for securing venison; of Bidwell's report to General Vallejo, in the first week of March; of the unexpected arrival at the Fort of a number of disbanded Mormon soldiers; and of those strange influences which always seem at work where an important secret is to be kept but which no man can fully understand, the momentous fact became known and of course spread like wildfire. One writer thus expresses the way in which reports were exaggerated: "A grain of gold taken from the mine

became a pennyweight at Panama, an ounce in New York and Boston and a pound nugget at London."

Prospectors Arrive on the Scene. — Shortly after the original discovery, Marshall had taken a trip to the Fort, where he announced the facts to Sut-

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A MODERN PROSPECTOR

ter and the gold was tested so as to leave no shadow of doubt that it was genuine. "I had scarce arrived at the mill again," continues his narrative, "till several persons appeared with pans, shovels and hoes, and those that had not iron picks had wooden ones, all anxious to fall to work and dig up our mill; but this we would not permit. As fast as one party disappeared another would arrive,

and sometimes I had the greatest kind of trouble to get rid of them."

"Eureka!" the Key of Western Empire. — So it was Marshall's discovery of gold, reports of which were spread abroad as on the wings of the morning, that transformed California into the land of El Dorado. Well might pioneer and prophet take up the shout from hill and vale, "Eureka! Eureka!" for the key had been found that was to unlock the door of a mighty western empire, the magic wand had been discovered that was at last to break the chains of human slavery.

The Rush to the Mines. — Soldiers deserted the ranks; seamen left their vessels idly rolling in the harbors; lawyers abandoned their clients and despised their petty fees: all to join in the motley crowd of adventurers and rush wildly to the mines. Vessels jostled one another in passing through the Golden Gate, till the spacious harbor seemed a veritable forest of masts.

"All over California [so runs an early account] the excitement was prodigious. Spaniard, American and foreigner were all alike affected. The husband left his wife; the father, his family; people tore themselves from the most pressing duties at home; men deserted their masters and these followed their servants — all hurried to Sutter's Mill. Some withstood the temptation for a short time; but very soon nearly the whole male population of the country, unable to resist the evidence of their senses when specimens of the newly found gold were exhibited before their dilated eyes, became suddenly infected

"WESTWARD THE COURSE OF EMPIRE TAKES ITS WAY"

A reproduction of the well-known painting by Leutze in the Capitol at Washington

with the maddened whirl of the 'yellow fever' — the *auri sacra fames* — and rushed off at a tangent, helter-skelter, to gather riches, as Aladdin had plucked fruits of priceless value in his fairy garden, in the bowels of the earth, among the valleys of the Snowy Mountains." — "*Annals of San Francisco.*"

On May 29, 1848, the weekly newspaper called the *Californian* was compelled to suspend publication, sending to the few readers that remained a mere slip which contained this interesting statement:

"With this slip ceases for the present the publication of the *Californian* —

'Othello's occupation's gone!'

The reasons which have led us to this step are many and cogent. . . . The majority of our subscribers and many of our advertising patrons have closed their doors and places of business and left town, and we have received one order after another conveying the *pleasant* request that 'the printer will please stop my paper' or 'my advertisement, as I am about leaving for the Sacramento.' . . . We really do not believe that for the last ten days anything in the shape of a newspaper has received five minutes' attention from any one of our citizens. . . . The whole country, from San Francisco to Los Angeles and from the seashore to the base of the Sierra Nevada, resounds with the sordid cry of *'gold!* GOLD!! *GOLD!!!'* while the field is left half planted, the house half built, and everything neglected but the manufacture of shovels and pickaxes, and the means of transportation to the spot where one man obtained $128 worth of the *real stuff* in one day's washing, and the average for all concerned is $20 per diem. . . .

'The best-laid schemes o' mice an' men
Gang aft a-gley,'

as Burns once remarked; and so in this instance, the 'gold fever' stepped in and changed the aspect of things instanter, upsetting all our calculations and reducing us to the necessity of suspending *paper* payments."

Importance of the Discovery.—Henceforth for many years the story of California must be read chiefly in terms of gold.

> "Gold! and gold! and gold without end!
> Gold to lay by and gold to spend!
> Gold to give and gold to lend,
> And reversions of gold *in futuro.*"

Before the close of 1848 the gold yield of California had reached $10,000,000. The next year — the famous year of '49 — it was four times as great, and in 1853 it reached the enormous amount of $65,000,000.

Who can estimate the wide-reaching importance of the effects of the California gold discovery? Who among us now can picture to himself the condition of this land or of our mighty nation if this uncounted wealth had never been revealed to human eye?

CHAPTER XXII

EL DORADO: THE DAYS OF '49

The Days of Gold. — California, as El Dorado ("The Land of Gold"), quickly became the center of the world's attention; so in the unfolding panorama of California's history the natural focus must ever be found in

> "The days of old,
> The days of gold,
> The days of '49."

The days of gold are a fitting culmination of all that went before, and in turn they furnish the prophecy of what has since been and is yet to be. What pioneer does not love to live over again those romantic years and revisit in fancy the scenes of early days? And what native son or native daughter is not stirred by the father's reminiscence of times and situations that seem as remote from the present as antiquity itself, as wonderful as an oriental tale?

The Coming of the Argonauts. — One of the first and most natural results of the gold discovery was the rapid increase in the number of miners in Cali-

fornia. Notwithstanding early attempts at secrecy the miners numbered about two thousand by the middle of May, 1848, and two months later there were probably more than six thousand.

This was but a portion of the advance guard of

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INSIDE A MINE

that great army of Argonauts who were setting their faces toward the land of the new fleece of gold. It is estimated that at the beginning of 1849 California had, exclusive of Indians, a population of twenty-six thousand, one-half Californians and the remainder Americans and foreigners.

By the first of August the number had reached fifty thousand. The immigrants of that momentous year numbered about eighty thousand Americans and twenty thousand foreigners; so that at the opening of 1850 the total white population was approximately one hundred and fifteen thousand. Mining in some of its many branches was the direct occupation of about three-fourths of the entire working population.

The foreign immigrants seemed to come from every quarter of the globe. Prominent among the nationalities represented were Mexicans, British, Germans, French and Spanish; while numbers came also from Peru, Chile and the Sandwich Islands. The Californian population of that time was indeed a motley community; is it any wonder that questions of law and government were thrust upon the young state such as few communities are ever called upon to meet?

California Becomes the American Frontier. — It was an early decree of "Manifest Destiny" that the problems of California were to be American and not Spanish problems, and that they were to be settled in true American fashion. Even before California became a part of the United States it was seen that the Spanish language must very soon give way to the English. It was quite as certain that the experiences and ideas of Ameri-

can law which the great army of immigrants knew most about must speedily take the place of the outgrown Mexican system which was supposed to be in force in California. California took on the aspect of an American frontier very rapidly, but under conditions that were unique in history.

The Three Routes to California. — How came these hosts of hardy Americans hither — these eighty thousand men of '49? It may be answered that there were three distinct routes from "the States," each filled with hardships and tedious trials if not with actual perils. "Around the Horn" was the wearisome course generally preferred by the men from New England and the Middle States. Almost all the Southerners near the Atlantic coast chose the way that led "across the Isthmus;" that is, the voyage to Panama or Nicaragua, then the picturesque trip across the tropical isthmus, with excellent chances for a long and annoying delay, waiting for the vessel that should take them to San Francisco. Lastly, there was the overland route, by means of the slow-winding emigrant trains — this was uniformly preferred by the hardy pioneers of the Western frontier. The old-time emigrant wagon, known as the "prairie schooner," has been thus described: "It was scow-built, hooded from end to end, freighted with goods and chattels; and therein the whole family

lived and moved and had its being during the long voyage to the Pacific coast."

High Prices. — In those days of gold, prices of all kinds of articles and services were fabulously high. Here are a few samples. The demand for mining implements could not be fully supplied at

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A PRAIRIE SCHOONER

any price; picks and shovels ranged from $5 to $15 each; a tin pan or a wooden bowl, $5; a butcher's knife, $30. Since miners must eat, the leading items on the daily menu of El Dorado Hotel, at Hangtown, will be interesting: "Beef with one potato, fair size, $1.25;" "baked beans, greased, $1;" "hash, low grade, 75 cents;" "hash, 18 karats, $1;" "roast grizzly, $1;" "jackass rabbit, whole, $1.50;" "a square meal, $3." "All pay-

able in advance. Gold scales on the end of the bar." Eggs were sold at from 50 cents to as high as $3 apiece; inferior sugar, tea and coffee at $4 a pound in small quantities. Medicine may fairly have been deemed a luxury when laudanum cost $1 a drop and pills brought $10 apiece. Even the high price of liquor — $10 to $40 a quart or a bottle, for wine and spirits — did not stop the drink habit. Quite different was the case of laundry work: when a San Franciscan's shirt became very dirty he threw it away, for washing cost $15 a dozen, in the days of '49. The "Annals of San Francisco," after quoting prices like these, speaks of little luxuries that miners would set their hearts on in these words: "We dare not trust ourselves to name some of the *fancy* prices thus given, lest we should be supposed to be only romancing."

The rates of rental in San Francisco were "simply monstrous," the Parker House, for example, paying $120,000 a year in rents, and the El Dorado, which was nothing more than a canvas tent, yielding $40,000 annually. There seemed to be no limit to the rate of interest that would be paid for the use of money; from 10 to 15 per cent per month, in advance, was often paid. Bayard Taylor has given this striking illustration of values: "A citizen of San Francisco died insolvent [bankrupt] to the amount of $41,000 the previous autumn. His ad-

ministrators were delayed in settling his affairs, and his real estate advanced so rapidly in value meantime that after his debts were paid his heirs had a yearly income of $40,000."

Social Customs. — Some of the social customs of the days of '49 were as extravagant as the prices. Everybody seemed to be making money and growing suddenly rich. The excitement everywhere — the very frenzy that seized men — brought into full play the vices of gambling and drinking. San Francisco was the great center of excitement. Thither came the thousands of Argonauts, greedy for the latest reports from the diggings, frantic with a feverish haste to try their luck at some rich "strike;" thither returned the flush miner, with his "pile" of dust and nuggets burning at his belt; thither, too, resorted those lowest of human beings whose end and aim was to steal from the honest workman the wealth he had gained.

Gambling. — "Gambling was a peculiar feature of San Francisco at this time. It was *the* amusement — *the* grand occupation of many classes — apparently the life and soul of the place. There were hundreds of gambling saloons in the town. The barroom of every hotel and public house presented its tables to attract the idle, the eager and covetous. . . . A band of music and numberless blazing lamps gave animation and a feeling of joyous rapture to the scene. No wonder the unwary visitor was tempted and fell, before he had time to awake from the pleasing delusion. To make a fortune in the turning of a card was delightful — the very mingled hope and fear of

eventual success was a charming excitement. . . . Gambling became a regular business; and those who followed it professionally were really among the richest, most talented and influential citizens of the town." —"*Annals of San Francisco.*"

In the inland cities, like Sacramento and Stockton, the same scenes were repeated, though usually on a somewhat smaller scale. In the society of that day restraining influences were almost wholly wanting. One pioneer who came to California by way of the Isthmus in 1849, could find no better way of describing what he saw than to call it "Pandemonium on a frolic."

Few Women in California. — Scarcely an American woman was anywhere to be found outside the cities and towns, and even there they were but few. Probably no need was more keenly felt in the days of '49 than the need of pure and noble women and the homes that they would have maintained. As it was, without the refining and restraining influences of womanhood and home, life was a scene of constant change. Every town and village was " alive with a mass of unkempt men, clad in flannel shirts and heavy boots, who were inspired with the one desire to hurry on to the mines."

Yet even at the mines not all was greed and avarice, nor were touches of sentiment by any means lacking. A pioneer tells how one day his town " was electrified by the rumor that an in-

voice of women's bonnets had arrived and could be seen at one of the stores." "I do not overstate the truth," he declares, "in saying that the thoughts of home that were awakened in the breasts of the rude-looking men at the sight of those bonnets started tears from eyes that the worst forms of

STORE IN A MINING CAMP

privation and hardship had failed to moisten." An infant's cry was sweeter than the voice of an angel to many a lonely, toiling father who had left his home and family three thousand miles away, staking his all upon this new venture in California. The few good women who had accompanied their husbands and brothers proved a godsend to the towns and mining camps in which they stayed.

The Pioneer Preachers. — The Christian missionary, too, found his way to the remotest parts. There were always those alert, brave-souled ministers, like "Father" Taylor, Willey and Hunt, who remained true in the face of temptations to worldliness, whom gold and glittering prospects of speedy fortune could not turn aside from their steady course, but whose voices were raised to rebuke vice and sin, and whose fearlessness won them the solid respect and generous support of the communities where they labored.

The Spirit of Equality. — Grasping spirits were plentiful, to be sure; but good fellowship, genuine hospitality and open-hearted generosity were much more plentiful. Never was there a finer practical sense of equality among men than that found here in the new West, where pedigree was forgotten, where earlier profession was abandoned and where judge and professor "dug" shoulder to shoulder with menial and bootblack: here every stranger was given a cordial reception and none was permitted to suffer for the necessities of life.

The Character of the Pioneers. — While among the great army of "Forty-niners" the "scamps" and "toughs" appeared to be both numerous and noisy; while there drifted into city and camp many a hardened criminal and many a drunken loafer; still let it be remembered to the honor of our fathers

and to the high credit of our young state, that as Theodore Hittell has so well said, "the greater part, though rough in dress and not overnice in language, were sober and industrious, well fitted to preserve public order and admirably calculated to found a great state. Thrown upon their own resources in an untried field, they had to pursue a new career. Having no precedents, they had to make precedents. . . . Taken in general, there certainly never was before, and it may be doubted whether there will ever be again, thrown together, under such peculiar circumstances, such a body of choice and picked spirits." — "*History of California*," Vol. III.

CHAPTER XXIII

WILLIAM LEWIS MANLY, HERO OF DEATH VALLEY

Manly's Early Days. — William Lewis Manly was born near St. Albans, Vermont, in 1820. He spent his early childhood in the midst of great hardships, and while yet a mere boy started out in a strange world with a cash capital of only seven dollars. As a sturdy youth he broke numerous paths through the wilds of Ohio, Michigan and Wisconsin.

In 1845 there came glowing accounts of the far-off Oregon territory; but during the memorable winter of 1848–49 the California gold fever seized him and, as no other treatment seemed able to effect a cure, young Manly quickly decided to emigrate.

Manly's story is full of shadow. It is the story of terrible hardships and incredible torture; but through it the quality of true heroism shines forth clear and bright. In those feverish days of gold Manly was not alone in passing through trials of blackest darkness; but let his experiences be taken as a type of the experiences of many whose long and useful careers crowned their lives with honor,

as well as of those others who laid down their lives on prairie or desert sands in the vain attempt to reach the Golden West.

Manly Joins an Emigrant Party.— Early in '49 he set out as a driver for Charles Dallas, a stout-

WILLIAM LEWIS MANLY
At the age of eighty

hearted pioneer; but not until the season was well advanced did his party pass the watershed of the Rocky Mountains. The discovery of a small sand-filled ferry boat in the Green River suggested the question, "Why not proceed in this boat down the river, for surely it must at last flow into the great Pacific?" As ill fortune would have it, Manly and six comrades determined upon this course, won-

dering why their friends should be so blind as to continue on the old Oregon route.

The Voyage Down the Colorado. — Who that has not seen the madly-rushing Colorado can form any conception of that dangerous expedition down the wild cañon? The boat must be abandoned; canoes must be constructed from such small pines as might be found alongshore. But all to no purpose; they knew not what awaited them.

At length Manly was convinced by the warning of a friendly Indian, Chief Walker, added to his own disheartening experiences, that it would be the part of prudence to change his course before death overtook him and to make his way as best he could to Salt Lake. The happy upshot of this long and wearisome journey was the reunion with the party of Mr. Asabel Bennett, who had set out in advance from the Missouri River expecting Manly to overtake and join him.

The Meeting with the Jayhawkers. — This emigrant train was a very large one, numbering for a time a hundred and seven wagons and about five hundred horses. They pursued the southern route leading to Los Angeles. A map showed a turn-off leading more directly over the mountains to the Tulare Valley. It was an hour of serious consequence when Lewis Manly with a majority of his party set out upon this unknown and really imaginary route.

About this time the party known as the "Jayhawkers" passed the Bennett party in their eagerness to press on to California. They also encountered terrible experiences. Indeed it was a wonder, that the one woman of the party, Mrs. J. W. Brier, the wife of a well-known preacher, ever survived the ordeals through which they passed.

DEATH VALLEY

The Horrors of Death Valley. — Grave difficulties were encountered by Manly's party in less than a week. A careful survey of the country from the peaks along the trail convinced him that they were certainly pursuing the wrong course. But instead of patiently retracing their steps, they decided, after much debate, to leave the track and proceed directly west, breaking their own road over a wide tableland. Their situation grew rapidly worse. Viewing the country one day from a lofty summit, Manly observed a level plain stretching away to the north and west for perhaps a hundred miles,

which appeared to be entirely without water and grass. Beyond there rose a low range of black, rocky hills, with the larger range of the Panamint Mountains still farther beyond. He looked upon one of the strangest of all valleys. It is called Death Valley, in memory of the emigrants who perished there in 1850. Lying about a hundred and ten feet below sea level, the dreary desert waste stretches on for fifty miles before the first pool is reached.

The Desperate Condition of the Party. — The children cried for water, when there was not a drop to give, and the almost crazed mothers at times expected their babes to choke and die in their arms. Provisions were exhausted. One after another of the faithful oxen was killed and the meat distributed among the occupants of the seven wagons. So desperate was their condition that the blood, the hide and even the intestines were all used to sustain life. " Every camp was sad beyond description," wrote Mr. Manly, " and no one can guide the pen to make it tell the tale as it seemed to us."

The poor stricken travelers began to ask themselves, " How much longer can we stand this horrible torture? How can we live when the oxen are all gone?" After talking the whole matter over very earnestly, it was agreed that two of the

strongest young men should be asked to go on ahead in search of a settlement and food, while the party should for ten days await their return at a spring they had recently passed.

Manly and Rogers Go in Search of Aid. — But who should undertake the hazardous task? Mr. Ben-

THE MOHAVE DESERT

nett was confident that Lewis Manly would push his way through and return if he lived. So Manly and a powerful Tennesseean named John Rogers were selected for that perilous but noble enterprise, and they set out in solemn silence with the prayerful words of Mrs. Bennett ringing in their ears: " God bless you and help you to bring food to my starving children."

Those left in the camp were: Asabel Bennett and wife, Sarah Bennett, with three children

(George, Melissa and Martha), J. B. Arcane, with wife and son Charles, two Erhart brothers and a son, Captain Culverwell and three others whose names are now unknown.

It was well that the horrors of that trip of the grim young heroes could not be foreseen; and perhaps it is also well that they cannot now fully be described. Day after day they urged forward their faltering steps without water, the little moisture of their bodies evaporating in the dry atmosphere, while the torture and agony of body and mind increased with every passing hour. With dry mouth and parched tongue, weak, exhausted and dying of thirst, they were unable to sleep. Only the thought of the helpless women and children inspired them to a desperation of endeavor that was finally crowned with glorious success.

Aid in Sight. — Before realizing or even suspecting it, they had passed halfway across California, between the Tehachapi and San Bernardino Mountains. Cheering signs began to appear, first in the form of a crow or a hawk, then a beautiful California quail. Finally a sparkling little brook of pure clear water gladdened their eyes and ears with a dancing song which bade them drink and drink again. Lewis Manly hobbled to the summit of the last spur in the hills, and then a scene of

marvelous beauty presented itself to his eyes and filled his faint heart with indescribable joy — a lovely meadow of a thousand acres carpeted with the greenest grass and shaded by spreading oaks, while over the surrounding hills roamed innumerable cattle. It was to him truly like a glimpse into Paradise.

It is needless to tell how Manly and Rogers now urged themselves forward, and to describe their fortunate meeting with Mr. French, who generously assisted them in purchasing such provisions as were most necessary.

All haste now to the rescue of the forlorn camp! The little mule they had purchased proved nimble-footed, but the horses were soon found unequal to the huge obstructions and so had to be left to their fate.

Temptation to Give Up Relief Expedition. — As the frightful difficulties of the return trip loomed before them and became more and more grave, the awful question presented itself, "Why not give up, and save ourselves?" More than the allotted ten days had already been consumed, and most likely the survivors had ere this ventured forth and been lost or destroyed by the Indians, or had left their bones to whiten upon the desert wastes. Even if they should still be alive in camp, the chances of reaching and rescuing them seemed

pitiably small. But to the honor of those brave men — Manly and Rogers — be it said that such thoughts of saving themselves, even in the darkest hours of peril, were sternly put down; the heroes of the desert never for a moment forgot the sacredness of their mission, but remained faithful to the last.

Return to the Desolate Camp. — "Here is Captain Culverwell — dead!" These were the words of Rogers as Manly came up near to the camp they had left. It surely looked as if their gloomiest forebodings were to be realized. What a trying hour was that when Manly and Rogers marched toward the desolate camp, like two mute Indians, expecting — they knew not what to expect!

One hundred yards to the wagons, and still no signs of life! But now a shot from Manly's rifle brought out as if by magic the form of a man from under one of the wagons.

"The boys have come! The boys have come!" It was Mr. Bennett himself, who was quickly joined by his wife and Mr. and Mrs. Arcane. Seldom has a reunion been more affecting than was this.

The majority of the party had left camp in small groups, deeming it folly to sit idly by and thinking John and Lewis would be foolish to return to rescue anybody if they could but make good their

own safety: instead of ten days they had been twenty-six days from camp.

Farewell to Death Valley. — It was about the first of February, 1850, when the small remnant set out, leaving the wagons behind and packing the few oxen and the little mule. Death Valley was left without regrets, but with deep sorrow for lost comrades.

Then came a long, toilsome journey on foot, full of hardship and peril, all longing for the journey's end. But hope remained, for they now had excellent guides. In spite of everything, the little store of provisions gave out and one after another the remaining oxen were killed for meat. But each day brought the little band nearer to their goal.

Nineteen days from the time they left the wagons they came to the beautiful brook, which gave new life to all. That clear, singing brook remained the happiest, brightest stream in all the long memory of Lewis Manly.

All danger was passed. On the seventh of March the lovely meadow was reached, and not many days later the plenteous bounties of San Fernando Mission supplied every pressing want.

It was November 4, 1849, when the party left the trail to take the cut-off, and four long months had been spent in wandering, all the while strug-

gling with appalling hardships. An entire year they had been on the way from Wisconsin to California, and even then they were over six hundred miles from the great gold fields they sought.

For more than half a century William Lewis Manly lived to tell the story of Death Valley in '49, and when he died in the autumn of 1901, California lost one of her true and tried pioneer citizens, loved by his neighbors, an honor to the Commonwealth.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE GREAT NEED OF ORGANIZED GOVERNMENT

California Without Civil Government. — Tidings of peace with Mexico were received in California, August 6, 1848. But long before this many of the American settlers had grown quite uneasy because they felt that they were practically without any civil government at all.

When California was taken from Mexico in the summer of 1846 there were only about ten thousand persons, besides Indians, in the entire territory: of these not quite two thousand were Americans. But immigrants continued to arrive in larger and larger numbers from "the States," and the native Californians had good reasons for their fear that sweeping changes were about to take place in the country. The American inhabitants showed clearly that they would not be satisfied with any other than an American form of government. They set up a clamor which never wholly died away until California was safely made a part of the great American Union.

Mexican Neglect of the Province. — Mexico had long treated her northern province with almost

utter neglect; and when leading American settlers found that there was not even a good system of Mexican law, it was most natural that they should begin to call loudly for the law and institutions with which they had been familiar in their Eastern homes. But California was then only conquered territory held under military rule, while war with Mexico was being waged. Under such conditions it was hardly to be expected that organized government could be provided. Nobody could then have foretold for a single year the great changes about to be witnessed in California.

Nevertheless the American population was far from satisfied, and the proclamations of the governors led them to hope that there would soon be a suitable government. In the meantime they were asked " to administer the laws according to the former usages of the territory " — which under the circumstances meant practically nothing at all. The greatest grievance was not that the Americans objected to the laws and usages of Mexico, but to the very want of any and all laws, so much needed, for the protection of life and property. The *California Star* of March 27, 1847, said, " Some contend that there are really no laws in force here, but the divine law and the law of nature; while others are of the opinion that there are laws in force here if they could only be found."

Gold Discovery Increases the Need of Definite Government. — If there was a need for civil government before the discovery of gold, how much greater was the necessity after that momentous event! For the eyes of the whole world now seemed to be focused upon California, and men of every tongue and every character came flocking to the land of gold. Among the hordes of fortune hunters were numbers of "bad whites," who came to prey upon others and who were bent on evil. Under the excitement of the gold fever, multitudes flocked to the diggings; but even then there were many lovers of law and order who felt a deep interest in California's future.

"No-Government Period." — After the tidings of peace with Mexico had come in the summer of 1848, no one could doubt that California had become a permanent part of the United States. The prospect opened before the American population was glittering; surely, they thought, the military rule will now end, and a good government will be provided by Congress. But great was their disappointment on learning that nothing had been done by Congress. Then California plunged into the uncertainties of the "No-Government Period."

The Question of Slavery Extension. — Why this repeated failure on the part of Congress? Why did

not our national legislature, which surely knew the need of California and heard the murmurs of her law-loving people, provide the needed government? Without doubt the chief cause for delay and failure was the question of slavery extension, which had come to be the chief subject of the day in Washington.

Many great leaders thought they saw in the newly acquired California a splendid field for slavery, and so were opposed to providing for it a free government. After Wisconsin was admitted to the Union in 1848, there were fifteen free and fifteen slave states. If California were now admitted as a free state the balance would be destroyed, for there would be no more slave territory ready, while many territories might yet be claimed for freedom. The contest was a stubborn one and was bitterly fought.

The Settlers' Movement for Civil Government. — But while Congress was wrestling with this problem and others growing out of the Mexican War, the question of slavery in California was settling itself; for it was pointed out that neither the soil nor the climate nor the products of any great portion of California was really adapted to slave labor, so that property in slaves would not be secure. It is not surprising, therefore, that patience at length gave out, and that there sprang up a movement in

favor of the much-needed civil government, among the better classes of California immigrants themselves.

The first Provisional Government meeting was held in Pueblo de San José, December 11, 1848,

MOUNT SHASTA

where it was recommended that a general convention should be held to nominate a governor and transact other business necessary for the forming of a government. Another large meeting was held in San Francisco, which in turn was followed by still others in various districts of California. The people of the San Francisco district went so far as to start a temporary government for themselves, to

be under a body of fifteen members (called the Legislative Assembly of San Francisco), three magistrates, a treasurer and a sheriff.

General Bennet Riley Appointed. — While the people were thus taking the matter of government into their own hands, Colonel Richard B. Mason, the military governor for some time, was succeeded. General Bennet Riley, who arrived at Monterey on April 12, 1848, saw that it would be very difficult to rule a province that was neither a state nor an organized territory. He was anxious to carry out his instructions but felt that he could not permit the people to take steps toward a government. He felt certain that Congress would make some provision, so decided to await, as patiently as he could, the tidings from Washington. Great was his disappointment on learning that Congress had adjourned — and this the third time — without providing at all for long-suffering California.

Riley's Plans for Organization. — Then it was that Governor Riley, having decided to wait no longer, made a proclamation describing the situation as he understood it and appointing a convention for the purpose of forming a state constitution or a territorial government. The convention was to meet in Monterey on the first day of the following September.

Better Prospects at Last. — Many of the leading settlers were at first strongly opposed to Riley's action in making plans for a convention because

YOSEMITE FALLS

they had already planned for a similar convention for the same purpose and because they did not think Riley, an army officer, had any real authority in the matter. But fortunately the leaders of the

people were broad-minded and patriotic; and when they saw that the prospects of securing the needed government were better by accepting General Riley's plans, they fell to preparing for the convention, to be held on the date set by him. In a short time harmony prevailed: all hearts were cheered by the thought that at last California was on the highroad toward a real American government.

CHAPTER XXV

THE FIRST CALIFORNIA CONSTITUTION

Election of Delegates. — The election of delegates to the convention called by General Riley brought out more interest than had been anticipated. Much of this interest had been aroused by General Riley, General Persifor Smith and Thomas Butler King, who had gone about from place to place holding meetings and pointing out the importance of the convention about to be held.

The native Californians of the southland showed unexpected cordiality and even the busy miners turned aside to seek out suitable candidates. "It seemed, however," as Dr. S. H. Willey has said, "like a very odd idea for such a mass of strangers as were then in California, speaking diverse languages, knowing little of each others' views, a great part of them men without families and in the country only for a temporary purpose, to go to work within a few months of the arrival of most of them, without any authority or encouragement from Congress, to set up a new state." Everywhere there seemed to be a desire to select only competent men as delegates.

The Convention Meets at Monterey. — The convention was organized in Monterey on Monday, September 3, 1849, opening with prayer to Almighty God " for his blessing on the body, in their work, and on the country." The meeting place was the

COLTON HALL, MONTEREY

upper story of Colton Hall, a substantial stone structure which remains to-day as a most important historic landmark.

Dr. Robert Semple, who was elected president of the convention, said in his opening address:

"We are now, fellow citizens, occupying a position to which all eyes are turned. . . . It is to be hoped that every feeling of harmony will be cherished to the utmost in this convention. By this course, fellow citizens, I am satisfied that we can prove

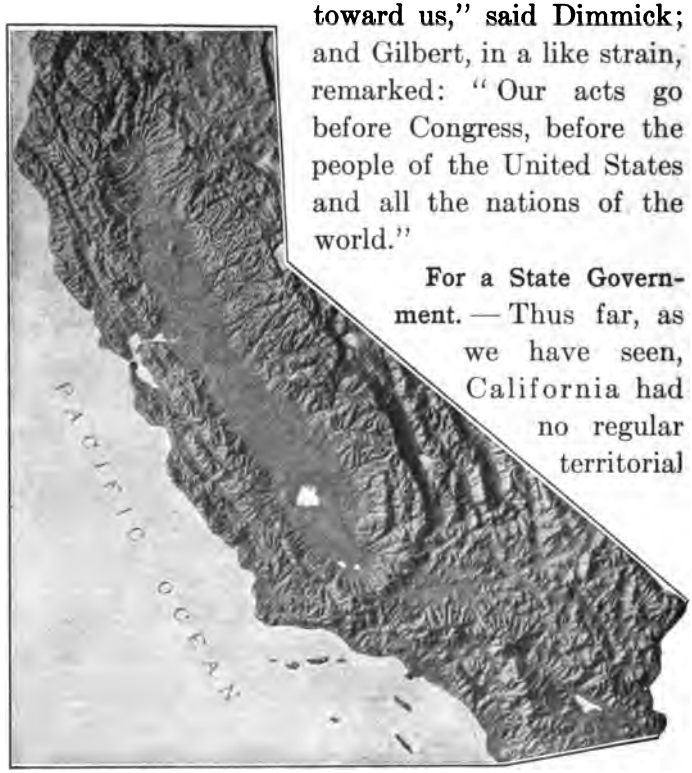
to the world that California has not been settled by unintelligent and unlettered men. . . . Let us then go forward and upward, and let our motto be 'Justice, Industry, and Economy.'"

The Delegates. — It would be hard to find a constitutional convention that had a more interesting membership. While those from the United States were naturally a majority of the forty-eight delegates, there were also present seven Hispano-Californians and one native each of Ireland, Scotland, Spain, France and Switzerland. Of the Americans, twenty-two had resided in California for three years or longer, hence it can never be said that California's first constitution was made by ignorant gold hunters. There were notable pioneers, like Sutter, Larkin and Gilbert. The first Spanish families of California were also represented by such men as Vallejo, Pico and Carrillo.

The average age of the delegates was only thirty-six years, yet Bayard Taylor has said that, "taken as a body, the delegates did honor to California and would not suffer by comparison with any first state convention ever held in our republic. The appearance of the whole body was exceedingly dignified and intellectual, and parliamentary decorum was strictly observed."

Those constitution makers well knew they would meet great difficulties. They also realized the importance of their task to the nation as well as to

California, and to later generations as well as to themselves. "The eyes of the world are turned toward us," said Dimmick; and Gilbert, in a like strain, remarked: "Our acts go before Congress, before the people of the United States and all the nations of the world."



RELIEF MAP OF CALIFORNIA
Showing the eastern boundary line of the state, as fixed by the Convention

For a State Government. — Thus far, as we have seen, California had no regular territorial government. Should this body of delegates now provide for one, or should it proceed at once to form a state constitution? This question was settled

promptly and wisely by a decision to organize without delay as a state. So California has never been a regularly organized territory of the United States.

Resolution against Slavery. — One of the most important and far-reaching acts of the entire convention was in coming to the early decision that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, unless for punishment of crime, shall ever be tolerated in this state." The relation of this decision against slavery to the national issue was so significant that it has been called "the pivot point of the slavery question in the United States." There were at the time fifteen free and fifteen slave states. It seemed decreed that California should enter the Union as the sixteenth free state, and thus forever destroy the balance between North and South.

As the result of a wise sentiment among the delegates in favor of education, liberal provision was made for a good system of public schools and the founding of a state university was looked forward to by setting apart the income from certain lands.

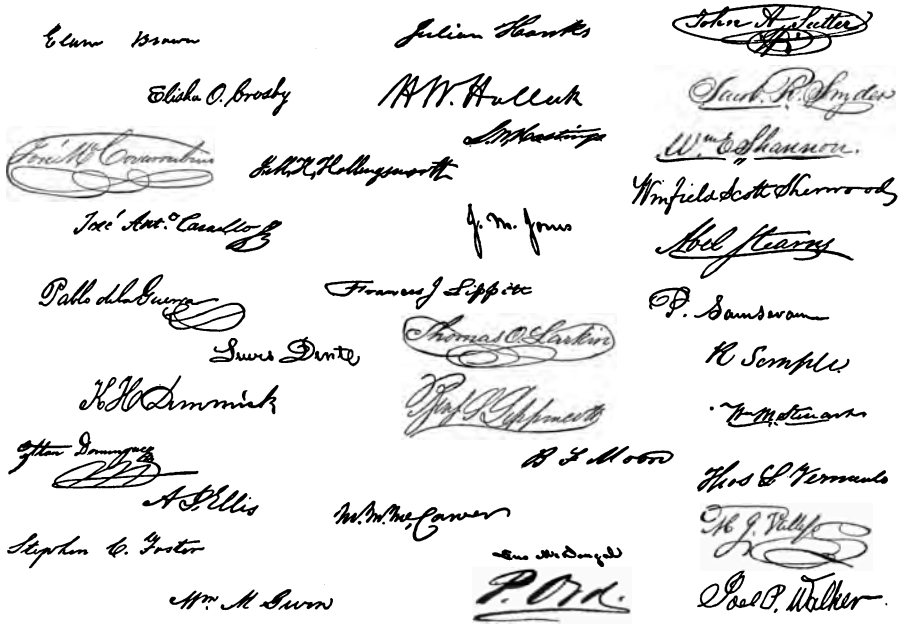
The Question of California's Boundary. — By far the longest and most heated debate of the convention was on the question of California's boundary. The territory that was ceded to the United States by Mexico at the close of the Mexican War, vaguely known as California, took in the great desert east

of the Sierra Nevada as well as the fertile country of the Mormons beyond. In fact it embraced all the present territory of California, Nevada, Utah and Arizona, and extended even into Wyoming, Colorado and New Mexico — a total area of almost four hundred and fifty thousand square miles. On the face of it this was altogether too vast a territory for one state.

Some of those who favored the larger boundary probably hoped that the state would at some later time be divided by an east-and-west line, and that the southern half would at last become a slave state. So the contest was long and bitter. At the very last the constitution narrowly escaped being totally wrecked. Finally, on what seemed to be chance, the larger boundary was defeated, and the present line along the crest of the Sierra Nevada was adopted.

Close of the Convention. — The long labors of the convention were now at an end; the constitution was completed. It was Saturday, October 13, 1849, and the closing events were highly dramatic. The *Alta California* gives us this graphic picture:

"At a few minutes past three, preliminary matters having been disposed of, the delegates commenced the signing. Scarcely had the first man touched his pen to the paper when the loud booming of cannon resounded through the hall. At the same moment the flags of the different Head-Quarters, and on board the shipping in the port, were slowly unfurled and run up. As



A PORTION OF THE SIGNATURES TO THE CONSTITUTION

the firing of the national salute of *thirty-one* guns proceeded at the fort, and the signing of the constitution went on at the hall, the captain of an English bark then in port paid a most beautiful and befitting compliment to the occasion and the country by hoisting at his main the American flag above those of every other nation, making, at the moment the thirty-first gun was fired, a line of colors from the main truck to the vessel's deck. And when, at last, the thirty-first gun came — the FIRST GUN FOR CALIFORNIA! — three as hearty and patriotic cheers as ever broke from human lips were given by the Convention for the New State."

The work of the convention is a fine illustration of the ability of the American people to govern themselves even under the most trying conditions. The constitution lasted as the fundamental law of our great Pacific commonwealth for a period of thirty years. All honor to those earnest, loyal pioneers whose devotion led them to give up their chances of sudden fortune for the more enduring, more noble work of building a great state!

CHAPTER XXVI

THE EMPIRE STATE OF THE PACIFIC

Adoption of the State Seal. — The great seal of California, adopted in the constitutional conven-

SEAL OF CALIFORNIA

tion, was most appropriate as a symbol of the new state. This seal, designed by Major Garnett, shows Minerva in the foreground, while at her feet stands a grizzly bear feeding upon clusters

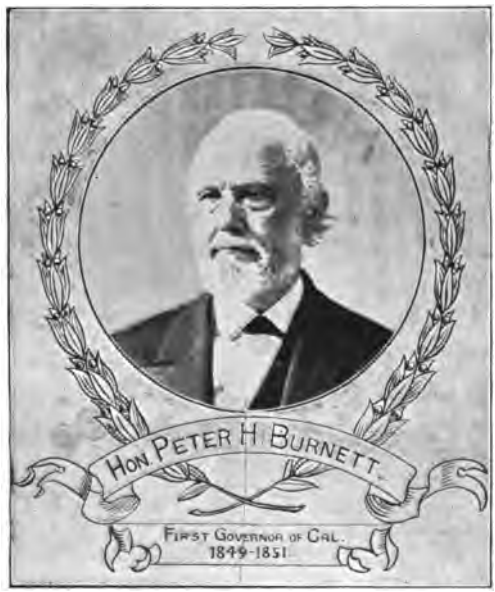
of grapes. At his side is a miner with rocker and bowl. Ships are seen on the waters of the Sacramento, and the snowy peaks of the Sierra Nevada form a fitting background. The legend "Eureka" is surmounted by thirty-one stars, the last one representing the new state of California.

Organization of State Government. — As soon as possible after the adjournment of the convention, printed copies of the constitution were carried to every town and mining camp and ranch. Preparations for a general election were made, candidates for the various offices took the field, "stump" speeches began to multiply in the land, and in a short time the people were in the midst of a full-fledged American campaign.

Because the election day, November 13, 1849, was stormy a light vote was cast; but the constitution was ratified almost unanimously. Peter H. Burnett was the people's choice for first state governor. John McDougall was elected lieutenant-governor, and Edward Gilbert and George W. Wright were chosen as representatives to Congress.

In December the governor proclaimed the constitution to be "ordained and established as the constitution of the state of California." On the fifteenth of the same month the newly elected senators and assemblymen met in San José, the new seat of government.

The state government of California was thus established many months before California was admitted into the Union of States. California



was to all local intents and purposes a full-fledged and loyal state, although not actually admitted till September 9, 1850.

California Seeks Admission to the Union. — Frémont and Gwin were duly elected United States senators. These, with the representatives, set out for Washington in January of 1850, with a long memorial requesting "in the name of the people

of California, the admission of the state of California into the American Union."

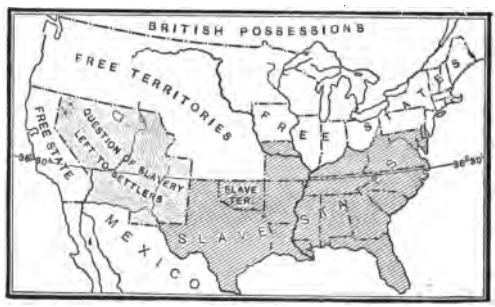
WILLIAM M. GWIN
One of the first Senators for California

In the meantime what was Congress doing? Congress was exceedingly busy with some of the greatest problems that ever came before that body for solution, and by no means least of these was the very question of admitting California. How could proud Southern statesmen consent to see this young giant come in as a free state and thus destroy the balance between North and South in the United States Senate? And yet it had become clear that California would never legalize human slavery.

The hard problem was rendered more complex by many other issues of the eventful year 1850, which marked the beginning of the end of human slavery in America. The leading measures of Clay's famous Omnibus Bill, one by one, passed — not without opposition at every step — as separate acts of Congress.

At last, as one of the stormiest sessions of Congress ever held was drawing to a close, the question of California's admission was nearing final settle-

ment. Although the people of California had been repeatedly disappointed and there had been delays both trying and unjust, no good reasons for further delay could now be found, and admission could not be prevented. After long labor and much strife the California Bill, having safely weathered the storms of the Senate, was finally passed in the House of Representatives, September 7, 1850.



SLAVERY MAP, 1850

Two days later it received the approval of President Fillmore, and California was welcomed into the sisterhood of states — "the youthful queen of the Pacific, in robes of freedom gorgeously inlaid with gold."

News of Admission Reaches San Francisco. — One autumn day, after those weary months of troublesome delay, when hope of admission had almost gone, when indeed feelings of indignation and anger had been causing California to think of being an

independent state, the glad message arrived through the Golden Gate. In the words of another: "Intelligence of the admission of California reached San Francisco on the morning of October 18. The revulsion of feeling was instant and extreme; business was suspended and the whole population congregated on Portsmouth Square to congratulate each other." The statehood was at last a happy reality: the step once taken could never be recalled.

It should be remembered that while President Fillmore signed the bill that admitted California, it is chiefly to President Taylor, who had died in office earlier the same year, that she owes her existence as a sovereign state. He it was that urged Congress to pass the bill, and so furthered the efforts of loyal citizenship in bringing into being the Empire State of the Pacific.

Celebration of Admission Day. — This chapter cannot be more appropriately closed than in the words of Nathaniel Bennett, whose oration delivered in San Francisco, October 29, 1850, at the celebration of California's admission, will long remain a classic:

"We had a state government regularly organized in all its departments, with powers sufficiently enlarged to enable it to perform all the requisite functions of a state government under the federal constitution, but not comprehensive enough to subserve the pressing wants of an independent community. With a great maritime commerce, we yet had no Admiralty Courts; with extensive correspondence with the states and

amongst ourselves, the postal facilities were miserably inadequate. . . . Claiming to be a state ourselves, and the administration of every department of our government being based upon such assumption, we were, nevertheless, not recognized as such by Congress, and could not have been so considered by the federal judiciary. We were in the awkward predicament of a state out of the Union, when justice dictated and imperious necessity demanded that we should be received to the enjoyment of the privileges of a state in the Union. We stood alone amongst the republican family of Anglo-Americans, whilst, at the same time, we were not of them. . . . It was at such a time that the tidings of the event which we celebrate reached us, and the rebound of our feelings to-day is in proportion to the depth of our past depression. If, when the tempest has gathered over the troubled waters, and the angry billows, lashed into fury, rave around the devoted bark, the winds are suddenly lulled, the waves hushed and the warm sunshine again sleeps on the bosom of the tranquil sea, the thrill of delight which the hardy mariner feels is enhanced by the recollection of the imminent dangers from which he has just escaped."

PART FIVE

FLUSH TIMES IN CALIFORNIA

CHAPTER XXVII

AT THE DIGGINGS: MINERS' LIFE IN EARLY CALIFORNIA

The "Gold Fever." — The famous discovery that transformed California into "El Dorado," the "land of gold," was made several months before peace was finally proclaimed between the United States and Mexico. In the early autumn of 1848 the first public notice to the people of the East appeared in a prominent newspaper; but not until personal letters and shipments of "dust" began to arrive did the gold fever break out on the Atlantic seaboard. By the time that memorable winter of 1848–49 had fairly set in the intensity and contagion of the fever were breaking all records.

California became a huge magnet, irresistibly drawing men to itself from every quarter. "Hurrah for California!" was the cry that roused the restless spirit in thousands. Then followed the active preparations for the trip.

Hither came that army of argonauts, containing

much of the best spirit of the East and the flower of the West. As they came, young, vigorous and ambitious, they saw visions by day and dreamed dreams at night as extravagant and as fabulous as the tales of Arabian Nights.

No time to stop in San Francisco! Push on to the diggings! There are glowing accounts of new and rich finds: and then, besides, life without work was altogether too expensive in the flush times in San Francisco to admit of leisure and delay. The high wages for labor, even the flattering inducements to enter business in San Francisco or the new city of Sacramento, were as nothing when weighed in the balance against the glittering prospect of the golden treasure.

The Miner's Outfit. — "The miner must have an outfit of a pick, pan, shovel, rocker, dipper and bucket of wood, or of rawhide. A tent was good to have, but he could make shift during the dry season with a substitute of boughs, for there was no fear of rain from May to October. A blanket of rubber spread on a layer of leaves, upon which his woolen blankets were laid, sufficed for a bed. His culinary utensils were confined to a frying pan, a small iron pot, tin cups and plates, knife, fork and spoon. His wardrobe consisted generally of a pair of serviceable shirts, a change of trousers, strong boots and a slouch hat. With these, and a supply of bacon, flour, salt, saleratus, beans, a few candles and occasionally fresh beef, the miner was ready for work."

After being given this glimpse by one of the miners themselves, it is almost superfluous for him

to add that the bill of fare " did not vary much for breakfast, dinner and supper."

Fortunate was the miner who had not bound himself in some large company or partnership concern before coming to California; for almost all of these mining companies, in spite of the best motives for unselfish coöperation, were ruined by disagreement, and then each man had to take his own course.

Hard Work at the Mines. — The actual work of the early gold hunter was of the most irksome and wearing kind. Reverend William Taylor, widely known as " Father " Taylor, gave it as his opinion that for years they did more hard work " than has ever been done in any country by the same number of men, in the same length of time, since the world was made."

Let one travel even to-day through the worked-out mining regions, and see how hills and mountains were leveled with the valleys by placer mining, how thousands of miles of ditches were digged and aqueducts constructed through cañon and ravine, how great streams of water were turned into marvelously built flumes and monster pipes, thence to be run to the greater placer mines, and how hundreds of acres of the bedrock beneath the mountains were laid bare " and scraped and swept like a ship's deck:" then will one know beyond a

doubt that the gold fields of early California were no paradise for drones.

The hardships were real hardships. The blazing rays of the summer sun and the ice-cold water from the snow-capped mountains, to which hundreds of workers were daily exposed, proved indeed trying to even the strongest constitutions. Steady working in wet drifts and tunnels was necessarily injurious to the health. The poor diet of salt meat, without any vegetables for long periods of time, brought on the disease of land scurvy, from which a very large proportion of the miners experienced more or less suffering.

The Prospector's Hope. — But what was suffering, what were obstacles, to those bold spirits bent upon the most fascinating of all employments? What if the golden dreams were not quickly realized? The hardy miner still abounded in hope and restless energy. What if he was beset with failure and sore discouragement? He was looking to better luck just ahead. He would not be worthy of a place in the great mining fraternity if he could not talk convincingly of a "good prospect," if he did not confidently expect to "strike it" very soon!

Early Methods of Mining; Surface Diggings. — It is only natural that for several years after the discovery of gold the miners confined their operations almost entirely to the surface diggings, along

the numerous watercourses. This kind of mining could be carried on only about six months of the year, while the rivers were low. The common method was to turn the stream from its regular channel by wing dams, for the river bed was often

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"STRUCK IT AT LAST!"

A true incident. This man actually found a rich mine on this spot.

fabulously rich in its hidden treasures. Here is a single incident taken from an uncounted number: "A member of a fluming company on the north fork of Feather River told me that in the summer's work they did not make enough to pay expenses until the last fortnight of the season, when, from

beneath a single boulder, they took out $30,000. He showed me the hole whence it was dug."

Dry Washing. — The process of dry washing is explained by this little scene from real life:

"One was shoveling up the sand into a large cloth, stretched out upon the ground, and which, when it was tolerably well covered, he took up by the corners, and shook until the pebbles and larger particles of stone and dirt came to the surface. These he brushed away carefully with his hand, repeating the process of shaking and clearing until the residue was sufficiently fine for the next operation. This was performed by the other men, who, depositing the sand in large bowls hewn out of a solid block of wood, which they held in their hands, dextrously cast the contents up before them, about four feet into the air, catching the sand again very cleverly, and blowing at it as it descended." — BROOKS.

Almost all the machines and contrivances that were invented and sent to California for digging and washing gold proved useless, only two or three kinds being really successful.

The Cradle. — Among these the best known and perhaps most widely used was the washing rocker, or cradle, which took its name from its resemblance to the baby's cradle used by our grandmothers. The dirt supposed to contain gold was shoveled into the hopper; the "cradler," sitting beside his machine, with one hand poured water by means of a ladle upon the dirt, and with the other rocked the cradle. The water and the motion of the cradle

dissolved the dirt and carried it down through the riddle or sieve. Here it fell upon the apron, which carried it to the head of the cradle box; then it ran out and away, leaving the gold and the heavier

WASHING GOLD

particles of sand and gravel behind the bars of the riffle — low cleats along the bottom of the sluice.

Other Devices. — Other means of early mining included the use of the "long tom," ending in a riddle, or sieve; the gold borer, used in the same manner as an auger; and the pan, which found constant use in all branches of gold mining. Panning-out is not a difficult process, but skill is acquired only from careful and continuous practice. In prospecting, the pan was used to test the earth from time to time; if the earth failed to "show the color," the prospector moved on, ever on the alert for

" pay dirt." Of course every miner had constant use for his pick, shovel and crowbar, and marvelous things were often done with the humble jackknife.

The Useful Jackknife. — How useful the miner's jackknife was, in working a crevice, is shown by a little experience of a pioneer in December, 1848. After a day's prospecting, he tells us, a large rock was brought to view around which a crevice extended. In his own words:

"It appeared to be filled with a hard, bluish clay and gravel, which I took out with my knife; and there at the bottom, strewn along the whole length of the rock, was bright, yellow gold in little pieces about the size of a grain of barley. Eureka! oh, how my heart beat! I sat still and looked at it some minutes before I touched it, greedily drinking in the pleasure of gazing upon gold that was in my very grasp and feeling a sort of independent bravado in allowing it to remain there. When my eyes were sufficiently feasted, I scooped it out with the point of my knife and an iron spoon and placing it in my pan, ran home with it much delighted. I weighed it and found that my first day's labor in the mines had made me thirty-one dollars richer than I was in the morning."

Sunday at the Mines. — On Sunday any important mining camp in the days of '49 presented a scene that would be difficult to duplicate. Look upon a scene from real life:

"Negroes from the southern states swaggering in the expansive feeling of run-away freedom; mulattoes from Jamaica trudging arm in arm with Kanakas from Hawaii; Peruvians and Chileans claiming affinity with the swarthier Mexicans;

Frenchmen, Germans and Italians fraternizing with one another and with the cockney fresh from the purlieus of St. Giles; an Irishman, with the dewdrop still in his eye, tracing relationship with the ragged Australian; Yankees from the Penobscot chatting and bargaining with the genial Oregonians; a few Celestials scattered here and there, their pigtails and conical hats recalling the strange pictures that took my boyish fancy; . . . last of all, a few Indians."

Eagerness for Gain. — The early miner was usually too restless to content himself with fair returns

A MODERN GOLD MINE

or with moderate success. Many a man who rarely brought to camp in the evening less than an ounce ($16) was swept away by the news that a neighbor had taken six and a half ounces from a crevice with his jackknife in less than half an hour; or that another lucky dog had stumbled upon a $5000 nugget. How could you expect one to keep con-

tentedly at work for an ounce a day and miss his chance at the big "strikes?"

One nugget found in 1854 in Calaveras County weighed 195 pounds and was worth over $43,000; another from Sierra County weighed 133 pounds. These were probably the largest ever found in California.

Gambling. — But the miner's uneasiness too often proved his ruin. The desire for speculation amounted to intoxication, sometimes almost to madness. Gambling became very prevalent in mining camp, as in city; indeed, mining itself was too many times but another form of gambling. Unfortunately the miner's life, as the years went by, made drinking easy; and in turn drinking increased the wild extravagance of many a miner's life.

The Spirit of Brotherhood. — Yet even in the midst of the feverish pursuit of the golden treasure there were many and real tokens of human kindness and brotherly sympathy. Beneath the rough exterior there was many a member of nature's nobility; he who could look into the heart of things would not fail to perceive those nobler traits that have ever spurned avarice and frowned upon the mean and selfish life. Those rude miners were always "ready to help others with purse or counsel, to share the last flapjack or *frijole*, or to espouse the cause of the injured."

The Argonauts. — While it cannot be denied that there was much disorder and even crime in those early communities, and while unwarranted forms of lynch law were used in not a few instances, still it is neither fair nor accurate to describe the typical miner as " some drunken, brawling wretch," nor is it just to denounce in a wholesale manner popular courts of justice as destroyers of law and order and producers of lawlessness and anarchy. The noble band of pioneers and the California vigilance committees have taught a very different lesson from this. Hear the trembling voice of yonder venerable and half-forgotten miner, as, bowed with the weight of many years and heavy burdens, he faintly but pathetically sings:

"We are wreck and stray,
We are cast away,
Poor, battered old hulks and spars;
But we hope and pray,
On the judgment day,
We shall strike it up in the stars.

Chorus "Tho' battered and old,
Our hearts are bold,
Yet oft do we repine
For the days of old,
For the days of gold,
For the days of forty-nine."

CHAPTER XXVIII

BAPTISM BY FLOOD AND BY FIRE

Growth of Towns and Cities. — During the first years following the organization of California as a state, in 1849, the towns and cities had a remarkable growth. Social activity as well as commercial life and enterprise naturally centered in San Francisco, the chief seaport of the state and the gateway to the mines.

But the interior towns, like Sacramento and Marysville, also grew with astonishing rapidity, while many of the mining camps that nestled everywhere in the gold-producing regions of the Sierra Nevada were suddenly springing up into thriving towns and cities.

Placer Mining. — Placer or hydraulic mining was developed to an incredible extent; and as a result untold millions of tons of earth were sluiced off into the rivers in the eager search for the shining particles of gold hidden beneath. Even today one may observe scores of localities where great mountains have been literally swept away by the fierce onslaughts of the great hydraulic rams, leaving hideous, gaping chasms and gorges.

"Slickens." — A more serious consequence of this method of mining lies in the fact that rivers like the Feather, the Yuba and the Sacramento were rapidly being filled with mining débris and "slickens." This had the bad effect of turning streams that had always been deep and clear into shallow, muddy creeks. To be sure, there had been times of flood water in California ages before the discovery of gold; but certainly this placer mining, by filling up the river beds and thus greatly diminishing the capacity of the channels, vastly increased the danger of overflow and destruction to the growing cities and new farms along the banks.

Floods Along the Sacramento and San Joaquin. — The inhabitants of Sacramento saw the danger and therefore raised the grade of the city streets by several feet; nevertheless in 1862 the city suffered very serious loss and still greater inconvenience, while during the course of that winter apparently the whole valley was overflowed by flood waters.

In spite of the high levees built since that time along the Sacramento and the San Joaquin for hundreds of miles, and in spite of all efforts to secure proper drainage and reclamation of the lands, there has continued, even till now, to be serious danger of flood over tens of thousands of acres of California's most fertile lands. There is

now no doubt that this risk can be greatly decreased and will in time be entirely removed by adequate measures, taken jointly by the federal and the state governments.

San Francisco's Baptism by Fire. — In the meantime San Francisco was called upon to undergo an awful baptism by fire during the early days of gold. From 1849 to 1851 there occurred a series of great conflagrations that proved far more destructive than any of later years till the fateful eighteenth of April, 1906.

These fires were due in a measure to the conditions that were found in the rapidly growing city; the dwellings were mere shells, mainly of cotton cloth and very inflammable, while the business houses were an equally easy mark for the flames. In the absence of a fire department, or even a company of fire fighters, there was no effective way of checking a conflagration, once started on its mad career. And besides there doubtless were in San Francisco, during those days, many evil-minded men who would not hesitate to set fire to buildings for selfish ends and base plunder.

The First Fire.—The "First Great Fire" occurred the day before Christmas, 1849, and raged until it had destroyed about fifty houses, then valued at about a million dollars because of the high rentals. The majority of buildings burned were on Kearny

Street, between Clay and Washington, and on the south side of Washington, between Kearny and Montgomery Streets.

The Second Fire.—Almost instantly the city sprang again into being; but unfortunately the new houses were as inflammable as those just destroyed, and on Saturday, May 4, of the next year, they served to feed the flames of the "Second Great Fire."

JACOB P. LEESE
Who built the first general store in San Francisco

This time about three hundred houses were destroyed, which, together with other property consumed, were valued at more than three million dollars, the loss falling most heavily upon the merchants. San Francisco had not yet learned the value of a good fire department nor the necessity for strictly maintained fire limits.

The Third Fire. — It must not be thought strange, therefore, that there should come, hard upon the heels of the May conflagration, the "Third Great Fire," starting Friday morning, June 14, in a bakery on Kearny Street, between Sacramento and Clay Streets. The entire space of two blocks, between California and Clay Streets, was

swept by the wind-driven flames, from Kearny to the water front, entailing a loss equal to that of the second fire.

The Fourth Fire. — After this costly experience cloth houses or tents were prohibited within the fire limits of the city, and a number of brick structures were quickly started. Moreover many of the citizens were now diligent and active in their efforts to organize fire companies and to make the department effective. But the light redwood lumber so extensively used in building proved almost as combustible as the cloth houses. While the agitation for a better public service was yet in progress, the "Fourth Great Fire" broke out in the early morning of September 17 of the same year (1850) in a drinking place on Jackson Street, known as the Philadelphia House. Nothing could stop the rapid spread of the flames till the area between Montgomery, Washington, Dupont and Pacific Streets had been swept, involving the loss of one hundred and fifty houses.

The Fifth Fire. — Most disastrous of all was the "Fifth Great Fire," which occurred on May 4, 1851, the anniversary of the second. Breaking out in the dead of night in an upholstery store on Clay Street, the flames were driven fiercely by a high wind, first toward the bay, then northward and eastward. "Attempts to stop their progress were

utterly powerless. All night the conflagration blazed; and the scene was said by those who witnessed it to have been grand beyond description. The reflection from it in the sky was said to have been visible at Monterey, a hundred miles distant. In the morning the sun rose on a city in smoking ruins. The very heart of it, the center of trade and business, was eaten out, leaving little else but sparsely built outskirts." — HITTELL.

In a few hours, more than a thousand houses were consumed, property valued at more than ten million dollars was destroyed and unknown numbers of human lives were lost.

The Sixth Fire. — After this costly lesson, and especially after the Sunday fire of June 22 following, known as the "Sixth Great Fire," the buildings erected, as a writer of that day expressed it, "show a wonderful improvement in strength and grandeur" — for San Francisco could not remain in ashes by the side of her matchless harbor while the mines continued to pour into her lap the enormous and ever-increasing wealth of gold. For building material, granite was now imported from China and brick from the Atlantic seaboard, from England and from Australia.

Meanwhile the frequency of these terrible conflagrations caused the people to grow very uneasy and anxious to find out the real reasons. It was

rumored that the great fire of May had an incendiary origin. The people very generally came to believe this, especially after the fire on the exact anniversary of the second of the series. The series of fires, and particularly that greatest of all of them, the second May conflagration, was one

A MODERN VIEW OF SAN FRANCISCO FROM MERCHANTS EXCHANGE BUILDING

of the causes of the organization of the famous Vigilance Committee of 1851, in the month of June.

The Phœnix. — The alacrity with which San Francisco sprang forth again and again from her ashes and desolation was fittingly commemorated by the city's common council, when in 1852 it adopted as the design for its corporation seal "a phœnix rising from the flames in front of the Golden

Gate, with emblems of commerce on each side and the words 'Seal of the City of San Francisco' around the margin." The phœnix may indeed be deemed a fit emblem for the marvelous rebuilding of San Francisco accomplished since the most destructive of all conflagrations of modern times, the fire following the earthquake of 1906.

SEAL OF SAN FRANCISCO

CHAPTER XXIX

THE SAN FRANCISCO VIGILANCE COMMITTEE OF 1851

San Francisco. — During the days of gold, San Francisco was the center of the industrial and social activities of California. More than this, it was emphatically the storm center.

From the time of the American conquest in 1846 until the organization of the state in 1849 there was — as we have already seen — no satisfactory civil government in California. Repeated attempts in Congress had resulted in failure, and at last the more thoughtful of the people felt impelled to undertake the work of giving themselves a government.

In the meanwhile, in feverish San Francisco, which was filling up with all sorts and classes of people possessed of but one thought, many citizens, even the best and most law-abiding, seemed to lose their active interest in the government of the city and their anxiety for its future. All classes of men caught the gold fever; few indeed escaped it.

The "Hounds." — We must not be greatly surprised, therefore, that about the middle of the year

1849 an organized band of desperadoes took advantage of the situation and terrorized the town by their bold acts and high-handed crimes. This band was known as the "Hounds," but was self-styled the "Regulators." "One of their fundamental principles, practiced before it was formulated, and the first and broadest plank in their platform, was that others should feed and clothe them. The workingmen of California, the honest and industrious, should furnish them shelter, with strong drink, tobacco and other luxuries." — BANCROFT.

In short, the "Hounds" were a band of bullies and public robbers, who repeatedly offended against the people of San Francisco under the flimsy pretext that they were opposed to foreigners. This gang paralyzed the town with terror. Their outrages grew bolder and more defiant; but yet the long-suffering, peace-loving citizens, absorbed in their own private affairs, paid little attention to the acts of the organization.

But when at length the excesses became so violent that there was no safety and almost no protection, the feeling spread and deepened that somehow the lawlessness must cease, that bounds must be set beyond which these ruffians must not be permitted to go.

The "Hounds" are Routed. — The crisis came on the afternoon of Sunday, July 15, when a large

band of these haughty "Regulators," after a ridiculous parade through the streets, committed a cowardly assault on the Chileans, whom they

SAM BRANNAN

beat and cuffed and kicked, then wantonly fired upon, seriously wounding many innocent men. When the news spread the town rose to the greatest pitch of excitement. Through the efforts of Sam

Brannan and others, the community was promptly organized for self-protection. Nearly twenty of the desperadoes were speedily arrested and tried, and the leader of the gang, Samuel Roberts, was found guilty of the eight charges against him. The notorious "Regulators" were completely routed and the incident was closed.

The respectable men had now seen that by united and determined effort they could easily put down a disorderly gang of evildoers, and this afterwards had the effect of encouraging the formation of the Vigilance Committee.

The Lesson is Forgotten. — Still the lesson of the "Hounds" was not sufficiently taken to heart, for almost immediately San Francisco plunged again into her excesses. At the same time there was pouring in through the Golden Gate, along with those sturdy pioneers who will ever be California's pride and glory, a tide of humanity from Sydney and other ports of the Pacific, that included many of the worst specimens of ignorant and debased men and women. Truly they proved a moral pestilence to the community.

The good men — of whom there was always a strong majority — neglected the duties of their citizenship, while the base and criminal became bold and active and consequently more dangerous to the public good. The failure of justice is shown

by the fact that scores of robbers and murderers were allowed to go scot free. Not a single murderer of all the hundreds in California had been made to suffer on the gallows; the very courts of justice, we are told, had themselves become a byword, and the offender had little fear of the law.

Committee of Vigilance Organized. — At length the conscience of the people was aroused to its very depth. On February 19, 1851, a merchant by the name of Jansen was assaulted and robbed in his own store by two men who entered in the guise of customers. The indignation of the people knew no bounds. Men supposed to be guilty were soon arrested and brought up before the court; but the angry people collected in great numbers and suddenly, with a shout, rushed into the court room to seize the prisoners and stopped only when charged with fixed bayonets by the Washington Guards. This failure was most fortunate, for that evening there was a calmer spirit. A meeting was held, which was addressed by several prominent citizens, and William T. Coleman made a motion to appoint a committee that should agree on some plan of action. This was one of the first definite steps leading to the organization of the famous Vigilance Committee of 1851.

Instead of taking warning from the intense feeling of the city, those who were bent on crime be-

came still bolder, while the great fire of the fourth of May made the people even more sensitive. Accordingly, on June 10, there was formally organized "The Committee of Vigilance of San Francisco," and about two hundred prominent business men were enrolled. Its objects, as stated in the Constitution, were "to watch, pursue and bring to justice the outlaws infesting the city, through the regularly constituted courts if possible, through more summary course if necessary." The citizens by signing the constitution united themselves into an "association for the maintenance of the peace and good order of society, and the preservation of the lives and property of the citizens of San Francisco," and bound themselves, "each unto the other to do and perform every lawful act for the maintenance of law and order, and to sustain the laws when faithfully and properly administered;" they were, however, "determined that no thief, burglar, incendiary or assassin shall escape punishment, either by the quibbles of the law, the insecurity of the prisons, the carelessness or corruption of the police or the laxity of those who pretend to administer justice." For the accomplishment of these purposes each member pledged his word, his fortune and his life.

Trial and Execution of John Jenkins. — Great work there was for the committee to do. Scarcely had

the members left their first meeting when, about ten o'clock at night, two sharp taps on the fire bell brought them back posthaste to head-quarters. A vicious-looking man named John Jenkins had burglarized a store, and failing to make good his escape, was quickly taken to the room of the committee.

In one hour Jenkins had been tried for his offense; in two hours, at the stroke of midnight, he was pronounced guilty of murder and sentenced to be hung. Two hours later a solemn procession marched to Portsmouth Square, where the condemned man — an ex-convict from Sydney — in the presence of a thousand grim but approving witnesses, expiated his crime by death.

Effect. — This swift action had immediate effect in San Francisco and throughout California. Scores of the best citizens showed their approval by coming forward to be enrolled as members of the committee, while men of Jenkins' class were filled with fright.

Within a week the *Alta California*, a leading paper, said:

"It is certainly a fact that since the excitement which resulted in the execution . . . crimes of the more heinous nature have visibly decreased. . . . Whereas previously scarce a night occurred that we had not a knocking down, drugging, robbery or burglary, since that night there has been but one case of robbery of which we have heard."

James Stuart. — On the eleventh of the following July, at about nine o'clock in the morning, the bell of the Monumental Engine House again summoned the Vigilance Committee. This time the culprit was James Stuart, who by his own confessions was shown to be one of the greatest villains of all California. He, too, was condemned to death.

Work of the Committee. — In all, four men were executed by the Vigilance Committee of 1851, but this is by no means all they accomplished. About thirty bad characters were banished from California and many more than that left of their own accord for various points in the interior, only to find themselves again thwarted in their careers of crime.

The active work of the committee was over; yet for a long time the members stood ready, if occasion should demand, to take up new duties for the honor and fair name of their city.

In the Interior Towns. — It was natural that similar movements should start in the interior towns and mining camps. In fact, there were a great many attempts at popular justice in different parts of the state. Not in all cases, however, were these so successful or so free from mob control as that in San Francisco. The distinction between a vigilance committee and mob or lynch law, was often lost sight of, and many crimes were committed in the name of justice. In spite of all this, the work of

the Committee of Vigilance of 1851 was a work of magnitude and of splendor; the heroic leaders of that remarkable movement deserve the gratitude of all order-loving citizens for the high purpose and calm firmness which were ever the basis for the work they accomplished.

CHAPTER XXX

THE GREAT VIGILANCE COMMITTEE OF 1856

Vigilance Gradually Relaxed. — The last entry in the book of the first San Francisco Vigilance Committee bears the date of June 30, 1852, but even then the committee was not formally ended. The members, schooled in the stern experiences of 1851 and ever on the alert to observe the signs of the times, still stood ready, on occasion, to assert themselves.

For many months the committee acted as a check upon the vicious elements of the population of San Francisco. But as the terrible warnings of the hangman's noose began to fade from the memory and vigilance began to relax, the law again fell on evil times.

Activity of the Criminal Forces. — The criminal forces, taking a lesson from recent history, showed themselves wiser than before but also more demoralizing. "Behind the shield raised against crime, crime itself was stationed with the sword of justice in its hand. Sitting in judgment, villains sold justice for money or sent triumphant vice abroad in the livery of virtue." — BANCROFT.

The method of corruption now was to capture

primary elections, stuff the ballot boxes and thus gain control of the public offices. By means of ingeniously contrived false-bottomed ballot boxes evil men were voting themselves into office. It became unsafe for honest voters to approach the polls, for if too many such appeared a set of bullies and "shoulder strikers" were on hand to knock them down; they rendered life itself unsafe.

Political conventions became a farce; public officers were, as a rule, incompetent and corrupt. And the maddening chase for gold and the unsettled conditions of the times drew the attention of the best elements away from the plain duties of citizenship. It is said that within a few years over a thousand men were killed in San Francisco with but one legal execution. The time had come for an outraged and long-suffering community to raise its voice in protest — "protest against wickedness in high places as hitherto it had been against vulgar vice." The conscience of the city began to speak through the columns of the daily *Bulletin*, a new paper which was well supported by the respectable classes. The editor of the paper was James King, known everywhere as James King of William. He was the prophet of civic reform: he likewise became its martyr.

James King is Murdered. — The crisis came on May 14, 1856. King was shot down on the city

streets by a man named James Casey, a former convict in New York, whom King had denounced and exposed. That pistol shot was the signal for a sudden and overwhelming storm of popular excitement and indignation, not alone in San Francisco but throughout California. And when, six days later, in spite of the watchful care of physician and friends and the prayerful sympathy that was almost universal, it was sadly announced that King was dead, the situation was remarkable in the extreme. The deed, as Professor Royce well says, "aroused the greatest exhibition of popular excitement in the whole history of California."

Casey was hardly in the police prison when a crowd of men, wild with excitement and indignation, began to gather. The crowd increased with fearful rapidity and loudly demanded the person of Casey. He was with difficulty taken in a carriage to the County Jail on Broadway Street, between Kearny and Dupont Streets. There again was found a great crowd, increasing every moment and almost in a frenzy demanding justice. The demand could not be resisted.

Organization of the Great Committee of Vigilance. — Rumors that the Vigilance Committee was being reorganized passed from mouth to mouth and had the effect of reducing the excitement and preventing

violence that night, although ten thousand persons were believed to have congregated in Montgomery Street, and by ten o'clock the jail was guarded by three thousand armed men.

SEAL OF THE GREAT VIGILANCE COMMITTEE

Coleman was the first to take oath of fealty to the new committee. He next administered the oath to the first half-dozen members and the books were opened for enrollment. In the committee there was represented every nationality, every shade of political and religious belief, every trade, profession and occupation; honesty and respectability were alone required.

It was early resolved that the committee should visit the County Jail in a body, take Casey and Charles Cora, the latter also charged with murder, give them a fair trial and administer just punishment.

It was no use for the sheriff to argue in the face of thirty-five hundred armed and determined men surrounding the jail, backed by seven-eighths of the community.

The Committee's First Court of Justice. — Casey and Cora were tried, we are assured, with all the

attempts to observe legal forms that marked the trials of the first committee. The verdict in each case was murder in the first degree; both were sentenced to be hanged.

Next morning many members of the Vigilance Committee of '51 answered a call to assemble, but new conditions rendered the old committee unfitted for the work.

WILLIAM T. COLEMAN
"OLD VIGILANTE"

Then it was that the new organization began to take shape. To William T. Coleman, more than to any other, the great committee of 1856 owed both its organization and its wise leadership.

At this point let Mr. Coleman tell in his own words of the organization of the committee:

"I finally consented to take charge and organize the committee, provided I should have absolute control — authority supreme. We organized, and within twenty-four hours we had fifteen hundred members, all well-known leading men of the city. They took a strong oath pledging their lives, fortunes and sacred honor to the cause, and promising to stand by one another under all circumstances, and not to divulge any transactions of the committee. The organization was to be entirely impersonal and each man was to be known only by

his number. Such was the intelligence and zeal of all that soldiers were formed of men who but a few days before hardly knew how to handle a gun."

Execution of Casey and Cora. — While the funeral procession of Mr. King, marching four abreast and extending a mile in length, moved solemnly through the city streets, the committee was engaged in the stern business of the execution of Casey and Cora, in front of the Vigilance headquarters. The work of purifying the city had been begun in deadly earnest: there could be no turning back now.

Force and Equipment of the Committee. — So completely did the movement gain the sympathy and support of the city that in July the committee numbered six thousand men under arms, well equipped and organized into one battalion, four companies of artillery, one squadron, two troops of dragoons, four regiments and thirty-two companies of infantry. A full corps of officers was chosen, the executive committee of twenty-six members named and a police force equipped.

Not only were the great body of the San Franciscans heart and soul with the movement, but it was also strongly indorsed by the leading towns of the interior. San José telegraphed an offer of a thousand men for the Vigilance Committee.

Establishment of "Fort Gunnybags." — The committee's headquarters, " Fort Vigilance," fronting

on Sacramento Street, received a nickname of " Fort Gunnybags " from the character of its breast-works. In front of the building was constructed a strange fortification — dray loads of sacks filled with sand — with embrasures at the ends for cannon; while on the roof were cannon and sentinels, as well as

FORT VIGILANCE

the deep-toned alarm bell. Within a quarter of an hour from the time the bell sounded the call — three solemn taps — seven-tenths of the entire force was armed and in its place, ready for any emergency.

Devotion to the Cause. — The activity of the great committee was equaled only by the vigilance, self-control and self-sacrifice of the rank and file of

the membership. The testimony of James D. Farwell is typical of many: "I went into that committee with as earnest a sense of duty as I ever embarked in anything in my life. I went into it as a religious duty to society, although I knew I was going antagonistic to the law of my city and state. . . . We sunk individual self entirely; and our only object was to save the lives and property of the community."

The expense was enormous; several hundred thousand dollars were collected and paid out. For the privilege of membership, at the constant risk of property and life itself, Aaron Burns paid $4,000 in money and three months' neglect of private business — and Burns was one of many.

The Committee's Work Ended. — At last came the day of adjournment, and the active work of this most extraordinary of all popular courts of justice came to an end in a demonstration that was truly imposing and grand. The military review, on the eighteenth of August, formed a fitting close to "one of the grandest moral revolutions the world has ever witnessed."

Fruits of Vigilance. — The fruits of vigilance were not lost. Four men had been hanged, thirty banished from California and eight hundred of the worst characters deemed it wise to leave the community without ceremony. Once more the atmos-

phere was clear. The vigilantes dropped quietly and loyally back into their private callings. The American people had again shown their ability to govern themselves under even the most trying conditions. Still it is earnestly to be hoped that never again will there be need in any Californian city of a real vigilance committee.

PART SIX

CALIFORNIA THE GOLDEN

CHAPTER XXXI

BUILDING THE PACIFIC RAILROAD

Greatness of the Undertaking. — The construction of the Pacific Railroad has been declared by some to be the most stupendous work ever undertaken by man. The conception of such an enterprise was splendid in its daring; the realization was for the time a most brilliant performance.

California had seemed almost entirely cut off from the East. The pioneers with much pathos spoke of the East as *home*, and for many years were accustomed to refer to a visit to their former homes as a trip to "the States," or "going back to America." From every standpoint — political, military, economic, social — it was of the highest importance to bind the West to the East with bands of steel, if California was ever to assume her rightful place in the Union of States.

The Demand for Rapid Transportation. — The early routes of travel to the land of El Dorado are already well known. One might choose between

the "Horn," the "Isthmus" and the "Plains;" and whatever his choice he might be sure of meeting difficulty and danger as well as tiresome delay. Every overland route was marked by the bleaching bones of men and beasts that had succumbed to the fatigue, the privations or the perils of the journey. The demand for more rapid transportation of the mails became very strong after the gold discovery, and this was entirely natural. The rapidly increasing population could no longer be satisfied with the tedious and roundabout route by way of Panama.

Establishment of Private Couriers. — A first example of the improved service was the sending by San Francisco of a private courier to carry letters and to circulate the *California Star*. By 1851 a monthly mail was established between Sacramento and Salt Lake City.

The Stagecoach. — Other overland mail lines followed, with routes as far south as the Giddings line from San Antonio, Texas, to California. The stagecoach had much to do in Americanizing California; and the good old days of the stagecoach will ever be extolled in the story and the literature of the West. One stage driver, David Barry by name, is said to have had a record of half a million miles on the box of a stagecoach, in an unbroken career of forty-three long years. Another, Ben

Holliday, was in 1857 awarded a ten-year contract to operate between the frontier states and the Pacific. It is reported that the income from his stages sometimes amounted to $1500 a day. The

STAGECOACH TRAVEL IN CALIFORNIA

thrifty business of the California Stage Company and the customs of the drivers are humorously recounted in the verses of a popular song of the *gringo* days:

> The drivers, when they feel inclined,
> Will have you walking on behind,
> And on your shoulders lug a pole,
> To help them through some muddy hole.

They promise, when your fare you pay,
"You 'll have to walk but half the way;"
Then add, aside, with cunning laugh,
"You 'll push and pull the other half!"

The Pony Express. — The real forerunner of the railroad as a carrier of the mails was the far-famed Pony Express from the Missouri River to the shores of the Pacific. This was established in 1859. From the Missouri River the trail crossed the state of Kansas to a point on the Platte River, which it followed to South Pass, thence past Fort Bridger in southwestern Wyoming and through Echo Cañon and the Wasatch Mountains to Salt Lake City. "West of Salt Lake City the trail skirted the northern shore of the Great Salt Lake, and after passing a low mountain divide in what is now northwestern Utah, reached the headwaters of the Humboldt River. Thence the path ran along by this river down to the place where it disappeared in a vast sandy desert known as the sink of the Carson." — FAIRBANKS.

By means of a pass at the head of the Carson River, the Sierra Nevada was crossed, Placerville quickly reached and the journey ended at Sacramento, the capital city of California.

The run of two thousand miles from Atchison to Sacramento was splendidly made, the distance being sometimes covered in the remarkably brief

time of eight days. "The posts were twenty-five miles apart, and the steeds small, fleet, hardy Indian horses. The rider kept his pony on the full run: and when he reached a new station — whatever the hour of day or night — another messenger, ready mounted and waiting, took the little mail sack, struck spurs into his steed, and was off like the wind." — RICHARDSON.

It is told how one November midnight, far out on the plains, the little express pony, on a keen gallop, dashed by a stage load of emigrants. "What's the news?" rang out the question. "Lincoln elected! New York gives him fifty thousand majority!" — such was the glad shout that came back through the darkness from the rider as he dashed furiously forward.

The record time for the Pony Express is claimed for the delivery at Sacramento in 1861 of President Lincoln's first inaugural address in five days and eighteen hours. The rates demanded were such as would of course now seem far too high. As much as five dollars was charged for each letter carried. As a business venture the Pony Express did not pay the proprietors; but the significant fact is that it proved conclusively that a railroad route across the American continent was entirely feasible.

First Railroad in California. — California's first railroad in actual operation was the Sacramento

Valley Railroad, a short line connecting Sacramento City and Folsom, now well known as the site of one of our state prisons. The opening of this road on Washington's Birthday, 1856, was considered a great event and may be said to mark the dawn of a new industrial era for the Commonwealth.

But if this first road within the confines of California, covering but the very short distance of

OLD ENGINE — C. P. HUNTINGTON

twenty-two and a half miles, was important to the interests of the state, how much more significant was it when considered in its national bearings, as the beginning of that stupendous system of transportation which has done so much to bind West and East together and to strengthen and solidify our nation itself.

Theodore D. Judah's Determined Efforts.—For many years the linking of the Pacific and the Atlantic had been dreamed of and talked about. Such a thing was seen to be most highly desirable. But friends

of the scheme had been ridiculed and jeered at for their earnest arguments, by short-sighted men to whom the vast arid plains and wasting deserts had looked so forbidding. And as to building over the Rocky Mountains and the Sierra Nevada, these people thought such an idea was a crazy notion; a man might as well talk about a railroad to the moon! It remained for the enthusiasm and courage of Theodore D. Judah definitely to plan and carry into effect the engineering ideas.

Three Routes Surveyed. — The surveys for a railroad were begun by the government in 1853, and proceeded along three routes. One crossed the Rocky Mountains at South Pass, the second at a point to the south and the third far to the north, near the headwaters of the Missouri. For a time it looked as though this third route would be undertaken first, thus opening up the Oregon country; but on account of the great slavery struggle the railroad issue faded, while the marvelous immigration to California during the fifties took away Oregon's chance of securing the first road.

Charters Granted by the Federal Government. — In 1862 definite provision was made by the federal government for the first transcontinental railway, by chartering the Union Pacific Company to build westward from Omaha and the Central Pacific

Company to build eastward from Sacramento. The splendid promises of lands and bonds made to the capitalists by the United States government

WHERE THE RAILROAD PENETRATES THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS

resulted in the beginning of building operations at Sacramento in 1863 and at Omaha eighteen months later.

Obstacles Overcome by the "Big Four." — The natural obstacles to be overcome were colossal. The Central Pacific was compelled to have its ma-

chinery and supplies sent by way of Cape Horn or Panama, while the Union Pacific must drag its ponderous materials overland from the terminal points of the Iowa railways or depend upon the Missouri River boats. "Both roads were being built through a new, uninhabited and uncultivated region, where there were no foundries, machine shops or any other conveniences of a settled country." But while the Sierra Nevada presented difficulties unknown in all the history of railroad building up to that time, they bounteously supplied the Central Pacific with all needed timber for ties, trestles and many miles of snowsheds. And while actual building by the Union Pacific was far easier over the great stretch of western prairie, there was almost no timber fit to be used along that line. The great leaders in this vast work were Collis P. Huntington, Leland Stanford, Charles Crocker and Mark Hopkins, together known as the "Big Four."

Building the Railroad. — Thousands of Chinese laborers were imported to wield the pick and the shovel for the Central Pacific, and thousands of Irish and European immigrants worked for the Union Pacific. During the last few months of construction an army of about twenty-five thousand workmen was employed. The grading of both roads proceeded for a hundred miles in advance, then the ties, after being laid roughly in place, were adjusted,

gauged and leveled, and finally the tracks were laid. This track laying was certainly reduced to a science; it has been thus described:

"A light car, drawn by a single horse, gallops up to the front with its load of rails. Two men seize the end of a rail and start forward, the rest of the gang taking hold by twos, until it is clear of the car. They come forward at a run. At the word of command the rail is dropped in its place, right side up with care, while the same process goes on at the other side of the car. Less than thirty seconds to a rail for each gang, and so four rails go down to the minute! . . . Close behind the first gang come the gaugers, spikers and bolters, and a lively time they make of it. It is a grand 'anvil chorus' that those sturdy sledges are playing across the plains. It is in triple time, three strikes to the spike. There are ten spikes to a rail, four hundred rails to a mile, eighteen hundred miles to San Francisco. Twenty-one million times are those sledges to be swung, twenty-one million times to come down with their sharp punctuation, before the great work of modern America is complete!" — DAVIS, *"The Union Pacific Railway."*

As the gap between East and West became less and less the spirit of rivalry between the two railroads became more and more intense. It was a battle of the giants. Between daylight and dark of April 29, 1869, the Central Pacific forces, under Charles Crocker, laid ten miles and one hundred and eighty-five feet of track, establishing the world's record in railroad building.

Driving the Last Spike. — On May 10, 1869, the ends of track were joined at Promontory, Nevada, with a memorable celebration.

"The last spike remained to be driven. Telegraphic wires were so connected that each blow of the sledge could be reported instantly . . . ; corresponding blows were struck on the bell of the City Hall in San Francisco, and with the last blow of the sledge a cannon was fired at Fort Point. General Safford presented a spike of gold, silver and iron as the offering of the territory of Arizona; Tuttle, of Nevada, performed with a spike of silver a like office for his state. The tie of California laurel was put in place, and Doctor Harkness, of California, presented the last spike of gold in behalf of his state. A silver sledge [hammer] had also been presented for the occasion. The driving of the spike by President Stanford and Vice-President Durant was greeted with lusty cheers; and the shouts of the six hundred persons present, to the accompaniment of the screams of the locomotive whistles and the blare of the military band, in the midst of the desert, found hearty and enthusiastic echoes in the great cities east and west.

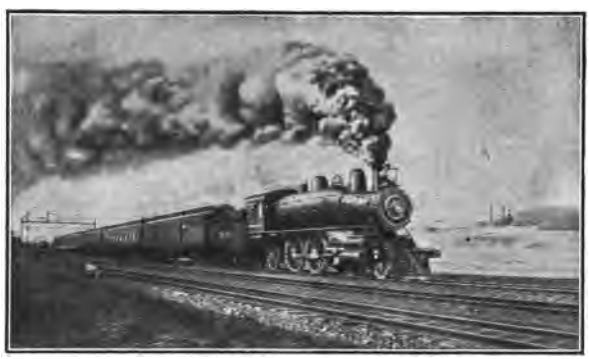
After the last spike had been driven, the Central Pacific train was backed up, and the Union Pacific locomotive, with its train, passed slowly over the point of junction and back again; then the Central Pacific locomotive, with its train, went through the same ceremony." — DAVIS.

On the instant that Mr. Miles, the chairman of the meeting, announced the great work done, prolonged shouts rent the air and cheer after cheer arose "for the union of the Atlantic and Pacific, the two Pacific railroad companies and their officers, the President of the United States, the Star-Spangled Banner, the laborers, etc." The telegraphic despatch that announced the fact to the world conveyed this historic message:

THE LAST SPIKE

"*The last rail is laid! the last spike driven! The Pacific Railroad is completed!* The point of junction is 1086 miles west of the Missouri River, and 690 miles east of Sacramento City."

Completion of the Road a Memorable Event. — The tenth day of May, 1869, is indeed memorable in the annals of California. A spirit of enthusiasm



OVERLAND LIMITED, ON SAN FRANCISCO BAY SHORE

prevailed in all our cities and towns. The parade and display in San Francisco surpassed anything before witnessed. In Sacramento, when the signal gun announced the driving of the last spike, the whistles and bells of thirty assembled locomotives led the general chorus of all the bells and whistles of the city in the deafening demonstrations of joy. The same jubilee spirit was shown in Chicago, New

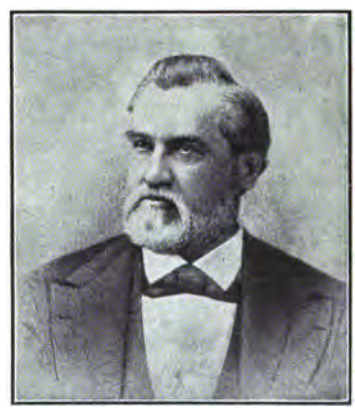
York, Philadelphia and even as far east as Springfield, Massachusetts.

And it was no wonder. There had been boldly planned and successfully completed what some have pronounced the "mightiest work of utility ever undertaken by man." Truly prophetic and full of meaning was the message received by the Vice-President: "*This is the way to India.*"

CHAPTER XXXII

STANDING TRUE IN TIME OF PERIL

The Great Contest of 1860. — The year 1860 was memorable in California, as it was throughout the length and breadth of our land. In the famous political contest of that year Abraham Lincoln was elected president over three other candidates, Douglas, Breckinridge and Bell, whereas in 1852 Franklin Pierce, the Democratic nominee, had easily defeated his Whig opponent, and in 1856 James Buchanan, likewise a Democrat, had decisively defeated Fillmore, of the American party and Frémont the Republican.



LELAND STANFORD, "WAR GOVERNOR" OF CALIFORNIA

Leland Stanford, "War Governor." — Even more emphatic for the preservation of the Union was the voice of the people of the "Golden State"

in the election of September 4, 1861, when Leland Stanford, Republican, was chosen governor by a plurality of more than twenty-three thousand over McConnell, a Breckinridge Democrat. To Leland Stanford, "War Governor" of California, is due much praise for the loyalty to the Union maintained by California during the great Civil War.

Talk of a "Pacific Republic." — Yet by no means was California free from temptations to leave the Union; for by open act and by secret conspiracy not a few men sought diligently to bring about secession. Before the inauguration of President Lincoln there was talk of establishing a "Pacific Republic." Much of this talk was occasioned by John C. Burch, one of California's representatives in Congress, who, doubtless under excitement, had written a letter to the San Francisco *Herald* before receiving the home election news, in which he urged the people — in case the emergency arose — to "raise aloft the flag of the 'Bear,' surrounded with the 'hydra' pointed cactus of the Western wilds, and call upon the enlightened nations of the earth to acknowledge our independence, and to protect us, the only 'waif,' from the wreck of our once noble Union."

But when a resident of Stockton named Duncan Beaumont hoisted a flag in January, 1861, intended to represent the Pacific Republic, the principal

effect was a general hoisting of the Stars and Stripes throughout the city. The Union feeling was strong. Beaumont brought upon himself first laughter, then indignation and finally ridicule. All the talk about the " Pacific Republic " was of slight consequence, and the project was soon given up.

California Loyal to the Union. — With the opening of hostilities in the East, Union celebrations and demonstrations of loyalty in all parts of California were frequent and impressive. On May 11, 1861, a day specially set apart for a Union celebration, the newspaper *Alta California* thus expressed the sentiment of the state:

"We have already quoted the language of a large majority of the newspapers of this state as unconditionally favorable to the Union. It is well known that all the Bell-Everett men, Republicans and Douglas Democrats and many of the members of the late Breckinridge party, are hearty Union men. Both our United States senators are sound on this great question, and our late Congressmen having proved unsound, are utterly repudiated and abandoned. In San Francisco and Sacramento, the commercial and political centers of the state, there is not a newspaper to openly justify secession. In most of the large towns Union meetings have been held and Union clubs formed."

Resolutions of loyalty were adopted in the midst of great enthusiasm by mass meetings in many towns and counties. As an example, we have this from Santa Clara County:

"*Resolved*, That as citizens of the county of Santa Clara, in the State of California, that we — ignoring all party relations — do solemnly pledge our lives, fortunes and sacred honor to the support of the Constitution and the laws of the United States, under the administration of its legally constituted authorities; and we agree to hold ourselves in readiness, at all times, to respond to any calls of the Government for its support."

It might seem that California would show little concern for the struggles of the war so far distant from her borders. She was indeed happily spared the horrors of actual warfare at home, but her interest in the strife was intense — and intensely American. This is explained by the character of the people, including many immigrants from the South as well as the North and a very large number of adventurers.

Some Sympathy for the South. — Yet manifestations of favor to the South on the part of many citizens were not far to seek. First, there were some who for a time were openly in favor of secession. We are told that before the end of May, 1861, "from the Sixth Regiment alone, which belongs to the Department of the Pacific, . . . fully a third of the officers have resigned since the inauguration of President Lincoln." Practically all left with the avowed intention of taking positions in the Confederate Army.

A larger number had a feeling of sympathy for the South, as was shown by many acts that could

not be misunderstood. At length, as it became unsafe to avow sympathy for the Confederate cause, the opposition to the Union took different and less open forms. Chief among these was the organization of a number of secret societies, such as the "Knights of the Golden Circle." Several newspapers favoring the Confederacy were circulated widely, especially in the southern part of the state.

But every form of disloyalty met with stern rebuke; several men were actually impeached for treasonable words, while the plots of small parties to aid the Confederacy were quickly exposed and the leaders punished.

Union Demonstrations in San Francisco. — San Francisco was a strong center of loyal sentiment. The *Alta California* expressed it in these words:

"In all these United States there is not a more loyal city than the metropolis of the Pacific. Among our citizens, devotion to the Flag is an all-absorbing passion. It is shared equally by all classes, and is all but universal." (May 11, 1861.)

On the occasion of a great Union demonstration, consisting of a grand procession and mass meeting, these well-known patriotic lines appeared in large letters just back of the speaker's stand:

"The union of lakes and the union of lands,
The union of states none can sever;
The union of hearts and the union of hands,
And the flag of our Union forever."

The "California Hundred" sent Forward. — California not only was loyal in her allegiance to the cause of the Union but also gave both men and money. The "California Hundred" left San Francisco on December 11, 1862, on the steamer *Golden Age*, in the midst of loud cheering and widespread interest. Five weeks later they were received in fine style at the Boston depot, where Captain Reed said in response to Major Lincoln's address:

"We come not as citizens of California, neither as citizens of Massachusetts. We come as citizens of the United States, and we are proud to enroll ourselves under the quota of Boston."

Native-born Volunteers. — One company of native-born Californians, consisting of forty volunteer cavalrymen, was organized in San José. The members of this company equipped themselves with lassos, being expert with the lariat. Captain Pico thus addressed his men:

"Sons of California! Our country calls and we must obey! This unholy rebellion of the Southern States must be crushed; they must come back into the Union and pay obedience to the Stars and Stripes. United we will by force of circumstances become the freest and mightiest republic on earth!"

Many Californians were eager to enlist as volunteers. Deep was their regret because they were not ordered to go East. The difficulties were greatly increased by serious Indian uprisings in northern California from 1862 to 1865. These up-

risings, together with frontier and Indian service at different points on the Pacific coast, prevented nearly all of the fifteen thousand seven hundred and twenty-five California Volunteers from crossing the Rocky Mountains. The services they rendered the Union were real services and were of great importance; yet with the exception of those enlisted for Massachusetts the California forces did not take part in any of the great battles of the Civil War.

The record shows that the state of California furnished to the Union two full regiments of cavalry, eight full regiments of infantry, one battalion of native California cavalry and one battalion of infantry, called mountaineers, besides several companies of volunteers to Massachusetts and Washington Territory.

California Preserves Peace and Loyalty. — Happily for our Golden State peace was preserved among her citizens. The vigilance and patriotism of her governors, the loyalty of her troops and the steadfastness of most of her people saved her from the horrors of actual warfare, thus permitting her to develop her own marvelous resources while pouring her treasures into the lap of the nation. The Concurrent Resolution, adopted May 17, 1861, by the state legislature, proved to be prophetic of California's loyalty throughout the Civil War:

"*Resolved by the Senate, the Assembly concurring,* That the people of California are devoted to the Constitution and Union of the United States, and will not fail in fidelity and fealty to that Constitution and Union now in the hour of trial and peril. That California is ready to maintain the rights and honor of the National Government at home and abroad, and at all times to respond to any requisition that may be made upon her to defend the republic against foreign or domestic foes."

CHAPTER XXXIII

INVASION OF THE CHINESE: "THE CHINESE MUST GO!"

First Chinese in California. — The first Chinaman to settle in California after the American conquest was Cham Ming, an intelligent and enterprising merchant of the province of Canton, who came in 1847.

After the discovery of gold early in 1848, Ming went to the mountains; and letters that he wrote from the mines doubtless had much influence in causing multitudes of his countrymen to come to this new western land of promise.

As the Chinese were the real inventors of many things commonly ascribed to Europeans and the founders of many very ancient customs, so also the claim that their race settled on the Pacific coast at a very early date has elements of real strength.

The Mongolian Race and the California Indians. — Were the inhabitants of Mexico and California, who were found by Cortez and Cabrillo, of Mongolian origin, like the Chinese?

It is not at all unreasonable to think so. There were many customs of the original Mexicans, many

features of their ceremonies, their music, their toys, their system of numbering and telling time and their sign writing, that seem to point to the conclusion that they were descendants of these Oriental races. Many wrecks of Japanese vessels have been stranded on the western coast of America within the past hundred years. Early settlers of Oregon are said to have found the remains of a Chinese junk "imbedded in the mud of the Columbia River, several miles from the coast." If these things are true, might it not also be true that long before the records of history were kept, numbers of Mongolians were cast by accident and the winds of Providence upon our shores, to become the parents of the race we call Indians?

It is said that not a dozen Chinese immigrants reached California during the year 1848. The Chinese consul reported fifty-four Chinamen and one Chinese woman in California on the first of February, 1849. By the first of the next year the Chinese population had increased to about eight hundred, and by January, 1851, there were more than four thousand. Then it was that their rapidly increasing numbers began to attract the special notice of the whites.

Why the Chinese Came. — Why came those Orientals hither? What was it that induced those people, noted for their dislike of change, to venture the

long and dangerous voyage to San Francisco in the sailing craft of that day?

Numbers of Chinese, like others of all nationalities, were attracted to California by the high wages offered and the splendid prospects of the gold fields; others came to work pieces of land, then held so cheaply, or to seek gain from the unlimited resources of the new country. The great mass of the Chinese immigrants, however, undoubtedly came to California and worked in the state under conditions that were but slightly different from that of actual slavery. The belief spread that they were not working as free and independent laborers, that they were actually receiving but little beyond a bare living and that their work was made very profitable to shrewd speculators, white as well as yellow.

Importation of the "Coolies." — In the "Flush Times" of California, when the mine, the farm and the business house furnished American immigrants with a great wealth of opportunities, Chinese laborers performed a large part of the rough work; for every American became his own master, or at least stood on a plane of equality with his employer. While there were quite a number of Chinese merchants in San Francisco who were both respectable and wealthy, the very great majority of their countrymen were of the class to whom

A GROUP OF CHINESE RESIDENTS

Governor Bigler applied the word *coolies*, to indicate their low rank in labor and intellect. Washing and ironing clothes, serving as porters in warehouses and stores, waiting on table, selling vegetables and working as domestic servants — these fields of labor they quickly entered with good prospects of gaining in them a monopoly for their own people.

The officers of the Pacific Railroad depended very largely upon the labor of Chinese *coolies;* many thousands of whom were imported especially for the work of constructing that first transcontinental railroad. Just how the stupendous task could have been done or when it could have been completed without the help of this army of Chinamen, it is impossible to say.

Growing Sentiment Against the Chinese. — Nevertheless a feeling of opposition to the Chinese was not slow in showing itself. The sentiment that prompted Americans to refer to them in 1850 as "our Chinese fellow citizens" speedily passed away. Within a single year the miner began to fear bad effects from their presence and to consider that he might as well leave the country if this invasion of the Chinese were to continue, since he could not pretend to compete with the poverty-stricken, cheap coolie labor.

By the year 1855 the anti-Chinese cry became a

political watchword. In the charges against them it was claimed that they were "a great moral and social evil . . . likely to work tremendous and lasting injury to the state;" they threatened to bring in "a strange system of slavery, obnoxious to our institutions;" they "degraded labor and depreciated its value;" and, finally, they would never be fit to become American citizens.

On the other hand, it was said that the Chinese had never sought to live in America any more than Americans had sought to live in China. It was held also that industries would be multiplied in California and the state enriched by the presence of the unskilled Chinese, thus creating a demand for thousands of skilled white laborers.

Chinese Immigration Increasing. — In the meantime the Chinese came in larger and larger numbers. The immigration for the year 1852 amounted to upwards of 18,000 persons. Henceforth each city had its crowded Chinatown, that of San Francisco soon coming to be the chief object of wonder to visitors to that wonderful city. The census of 1880 showed a Chinese population of 75,132 in California out of a total of 105,465 Chinese for the entire United States.

The average rate of passage from China to California was only $40. But to the masses of poor immigrants even this amount would have been

311 SCENES IN CHINATOWN

prohibitive except for the fact that they were usually given free passage to California and back in return for a contract to labor at very low rates. Yet "measured in terms of comfort, money and time, California was nearer to China than to the Mississippi prior to 1869." Compared with the long, tedious caravan journey across prairie and over mountains, involving heavy expense and certain hardship, the ocean voyage from Shanghai or Canton proved both easy and cheap. The way of the caravan did not bring a numerous laboring class from "the States:" the highway of the Pacific might bring thousands of coolies.

The Anti-Chinese Feeling. — These facts — the ease of reaching our ports and the increasing numbers who came within our borders — caused much anxiety; and the anti-Chinese sentiment grew apace among all classes of Americans and even among European aliens.

Laws against Chinese Immigration. — The result of this feeling was shown in 1870 when the California Legislature made a law imposing a heavy penalty for the bringing in of any subject of China without first presenting evidence of his good character; but this law was pronounced unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. San Francisco passed an ordinance the same year against employing Chinese labor on any kind of public work. These are types

of many laws and ordinances that were directed against the Chinese, being framed to express the popular feeling.

The Chinese Exclusion Act. — In 1875 Mongolians were deprived of the rights of naturalization. In the treaty of 1881 the Chinese Empire agreed that the United States might suspend for a time the coming of Chinese laborers into the United States whenever the interests of this nation were endangered. By virtue of this new treaty the Chinese Exclusion Act, which passed both houses of Congress after much debate, was approved by President Arthur on the sixth day of May, 1882.

This law prohibited Chinese immigration for a period of ten years, but did not interfere with the Chinese who were already in this country. It was made more stringent in 1888: and at the close of the ten year period the "Geary Act" was approved, continuing the policy of exclusion — which is still maintained — and at the same time permitting our government to expel from the United States any Chinese persons that had been smuggled in unlawfully. The feeling against the Chinese laboring classes has thus been perpetuated in the form of federal law as well as by the terms of the new State Constitution of 1879.

It cannot be denied that the sentiment against the Chinese was to a very large extent the result of

a purely mercenary spirit and a strong race prejudice. On the other hand, it must be admitted that among those who set themselves against the free admission of the Chinese were many men of foresight, statesmanship and patriotism. That the Chinese in California were shamelessly abused and insulted by ruffians and hoodlums is certain; that their race was subjected to deep humiliation is well understood. It does not necessarily follow, however, that they should be permitted to come to our shores in unlimited numbers and so thrust upon us a problem so grave as to suggest a national peril.

CHAPTER XXXIV

A NEW STATE CONSTITUTION FOR CALIFORNIA

The Legislature Recommends a New Constitution.—California's first constitution, the work of those earnest men of '49 at Monterey, endured for a period of thirty years. This was a much longer time than many of its framers had expected it to last. Many of the main provisions of the laws of 1850 are still in force.

Four different times had the state legislature recommended to the people the drafting of a new constitution, but each time the proposal was rejected by the people of the state, and so the first constitution was not disturbed.

The " Flush Times " had passed away and were never to be exactly repeated. A great many people of foreign birth had been coming to California; and the feeling against the throngs of immigrant Chinese was growing stronger and stronger. The task of earning a good living was becoming more and more difficult as the population kept increasing. All classes of citizens suffered from the " hard times," brought on when the mining stocks began to fall so dreadfully in value about the year

316 SENATOR STEPHEN M. WHITE
Statue in Los Angeles

1875. These hard times — and indeed they were no mere dream — lasted for several years, and the Chinese were made to suffer much of the blame.

The People Demand a New Constitution. — The feeling grew among the people that California needed a constitution "peculiarly her own." The old constitution did not provide sufficient regulation of the taxing power; under it there was no provision for separate senate and assembly districts; and the legislature might borrow any amount of money it wished and squander it according to its own fancy. Many of the laboring people had a constant struggle to make a living during the hard times — there was actual suffering in numbers of families — and these people were all the more dissatisfied when they thought of the luxury and elegance of the dozen millionaires of the state.

"Sand-lot Oratory" Arouses Popular Feeling. — The spirit of discontent was very greatly increased by certain leaders who might be called agitators, especially by those "sand-lot orators" who stirred up the passions of the crowds at the mass meetings held in vacant lots near the San Francisco City Hall. Chief among sand-lot orators was Denis Kearney, an Irish drayman, who organized the Workingmen's Party and was on all occasions extremely vehement against the Chinese. Take him all in all, Kearney was one of the strangest

characters in the whole history of California; and "Kearneyism" will always stand for a low and noisy kind of politics.

On September 5, 1877, the people voted for a convention to revise and change the California

COURT HOUSE, FRESNO

constitution. Many who really knew nothing about the faults of the old constitution or the need of a new one imagined that the times would somehow be made better and that they would be benefited by this movement; so they were in favor of holding the convention.

Election of Delegates. — The election for delegates was held on the nineteenth of June, 1878. There

was to be one delegate from each state senatorial district, one from each assembly district and eight from each of the congressional districts, making a total of one hundred and fifty-two.

The workingmen carried the day in San Francisco, electing fifty delegates; the non-partisans of the state elected eighty-five, a majority of the whole number; there were nine regular Republicans and eight Democrats among those chosen to frame the new constitution.

The Meetings of the Convention. — The meetings of the convention were held in the Assembly Chamber of the state capitol, at Sacramento, beginning Saturday, September 28, 1878. The president was Joseph P. Hoge, who had at an earlier time represented Illinois in Congress and who later was a superior judge in San Francisco. Other officers included Joseph A. Johnson and Edwin F. Smith, secretaries; E. L. Crawford and George E. McStay, clerks; and T. J. Sherwood, sergeant-at-arms.

It was about ten days before the actual work was begun. The convention was in session one hundred and fifty-six working days in all, and finally adjourned, after completing its labors, on the third of March, 1879.

It is not necessary to dwell upon the long debates of the convention. It was a body of men of

a good if not an exceptionally high degree of intelligence; although it seems certain, if comparison were to be made, that the men of '49 could not be excelled in real patriotism and true devotion to the highest interests of California.

The New Constitution is Framed. — The spirit of democracy of the new constitution is shown in the Bill of Rights by such declarations as these: "All men are by nature free and independent, and have certain inalienable rights;" "All political power is inherent in the people;" "No property qualification shall ever be required for any person to vote or hold office."

The most remarkable part of the new constitution — and to many the most objectionable — is that dealing with the Chinese. It declares that no native of China "shall ever exercise the privileges of an elector in this state." Furthermore it states that "Asiatic coolieism is a form of human slavery, and is forever prohibited in this state, and all contracts for coolie labor shall be void." "No Chinese shall be employed on any state, county, municipal or other public work, except in punishment for crime."

The Constitution is Adopted. — The new constitution went into effect on the Fourth of July, 1879, and in all respects became the law of the land six months later, January 1, 1880. The document

itself is more than three times as long as the constitution of 1849, and many persons complained that it was more like an entire code of laws than a constitution. Delegates said in answer to this criticism that many provisions not usually found

COURT HOUSE, STOCKTON

in a constitution were put in purposely, so that the state legislature could not freely change them whenever it might see fit.

On the whole the constitution of 1879 left a sense of disappointment in many thoughtful minds. It did not seem to reach the goal desired by the best citizens, and it was not perfectly worked out

into the unity of a perfect system. Since its adoption it has been amended a great many times, and even at present falls short of the ideal in many ways. There are men who believe that there is now more reason for wishing a new constitution again than there was in 1879. In spite of any faults the constitution may have, however, California has continued to prosper in a marvelous manner, and there can be no doubt that her progress is of the most enduring kind.

CHAPTER XXXV

CALIFORNIA AND "MANIFEST DESTINY"

The Westward Movement. — The stirring, picturesque scenes of our pioneer days can never be repeated. There are no more Californias to conquer. Our name and our story are unique.

An early decree of " Manifest Destiny " was that the great West should sometime become an integral part of the empire of the United States. It is true the early explorations and settlements of the vast domain beyond the Appalachians belonged chiefly to the French and the Spaniards, and their titles to the land were undisputed for many generations: it is true, the western coasts were three thousand miles from the original United States on the Atlantic seaboard. But with the beginning of American history there began also a mighty expansion of the Anglo-Saxon race to the westward, which, from ascending the James, the Potomac and the Hudson in the vain hope of reaching the great Pacific, was destined to continue with fortunate persistency until the farthermost Occident should be reached and the Occident firmly joined to the Orient.

The victory of General Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham, in 1759, was a door that opened to the Anglo-Saxon a North and a West indefinitely great. In the words of the historian Green: "With the triumph of Wolfe on the Heights of Abraham began the history of the United States."

As if France had not yet suffered sufficient loss and humiliation on the American continent, Napoleon Bonaparte "lightly offered the province which had come to him so cheaply," and the great stretches of the Louisiana territory were, in 1803, ceded to the United States.

The Lewis and Clark Expedition. — The famous expedition of Lewis and Clark was the beginning of an intense American interest in the great Oregon territory, and our early hold upon it was greatly strengthened by the diplomacy of John Quincy Adams. It is said that Daniel Webster once used these words concerning Oregon: "What do we want with this vast worthless area, this region of savages and wild beasts, of deserts, of shifting sands and whirlwinds of dust, of cactus and prairie dogs?" Such was for a time the popular idea of the wonderful Northwest country.

The United States had completed one great epoch of territorial growth in the acquisition of the Louisiana territory but it was yet far from being a perfected national state. A glance at the map

shows that perfect geographical unity had by no means been reached. Oregon was so very remote from Washington, the national capital, as to make it seem to many scarcely worth a dispute. Texas and the vast territory of Spanish California must also be acquired if the national boundaries were to be rounded out. "Manifest Destiny" seems to

CASINO, SANTA CRUZ
A typical picture of life in the Land of Sunshine

have decreed that California should eventually belong to the United States, notwithstanding the fact of Spanish—or Mexican—possession and the claims or desires of England, France, and Russia.

California and the Slavery Question. — As has already been shown, the question of slavery extension had an important relation to the accession of California; and strangely enough it is to California

that slavery extension owes its downfall. Andrew Jackson's policy of forcible annexation of territory led to the annexation of Texas under Tyler. Under Polk the war with Mexico gave to the United States much more western territory.

One act in the drama of the Mexican War, as we have seen, was the acquisition of California, which was seized with small regard for the rights of the Hispano-Californian population. Why should not slavery be successfully introduced into this new and inviting field? "Manifest Destiny" answered the question, and in answering it forever turned the tide against human slavery. It was observed that neither the climate, nor the soil, nor the productions of the larger portion of California were adapted to slave labor. Besides this, slavery had been forbidden in Mexico, the mother country of California, since 1829. The struggle on this question, both in California and at Washington, was long and bitter, but at the last "Manifest Destiny" had its way. It is reported that Senator Calhoun, when

JOHN C. CALHOUN

almost in a dying condition, invited Senator Gwin to an interview, in the course of which he solemnly predicted, as an effect of California's admission as a free state, the destruction of the equilibrium between North and South followed by "a more intense agitation of the slavery question, a civil war and the destruction of the South."

Gold Discovery and the Anglo-Saxons. — But not yet had "Manifest Destiny" fully expressed itself. Although gold had been found in the Los Angeles region as early as 1841, a favoring Providence concealed the unlimited stores of wealth until after the American conquest and after hope of legalized slavery extension had faded. James Marshall discovered gold in 1848, not for a Latin race but for the sturdy Anglo-Saxon; not for a divided and slave-ridden people but for free and united America. A story, interesting in this connection, is told of an aged man of the Spanish race, Don Luis Peralta by name. When he found that his sons, some of them nearly sixty years old, were filled with the gold excitement of the days of '49, he called them about him and said: "My sons, God gave that gold to the Americans. If he had wanted the Spaniards to have had it, he would have let them discover it before now. So you had better not go after it, but let the Americans go. You can go to your ranch and raise grain, and that will be your

best gold field; because we all must eat while we live."

California Gold and the Civil War. — In the dark hours of civil strife it was California gold that supplied a necessary element of strength and steadiness

LICK OBSERVATORY, MOUNT HAMILTON, NEAR SAN JOSÉ

to our national finance. M. Alexander Büchner, writing in 1869, declared: "It is the gold of California that has dealt the fatal blow to the institution of slavery in the United States."

Early Prophecies. — The "Manifest Destiny" of California, so far as it relates to past days, is not merely a trumped-up expression of to-day for re-

trospective or *ex post facto* use. Let us note a few of the numerous prophetic utterances of the pioneer press, far-seeing argonauts and observant travelers. In the *Californian* of August 29, 1846, a writer signing himself "C" uses this language:

Vista of an American State. — "The destiny of California is fixed — she is to become a free and independent state — a member of the North American Confederacy. She is no longer to be subject to a foreign arbitrary power, to domestic revolutions or military rule. She is to make her own laws, manage her own resources, and found those institutions in which her children are to find a happy home.

". . . Golden harvests will wave over hills and valleys, where now only the briar and bramble are seen; and where only the howl of the wolf is heard, the gloomy silence of the wild cascade will be broken by the thunder of factories, where art and industry will roll out upon the public their richest products. Commerce will enliven every bay, and penetrate into the gorges of the distant mountains.

"This may seem too flattering a picture, but it is no more than what is seen and felt through the length and breadth of the United States. The same enterprise and prosperity which prevails there avails this country. The same spirit which has made the farmer and mechanic wealthy there, will make them wealthy here. The same spirit that has carried the advantages of an education to every child there, will carry the advantages to every child here. The same spirit that has founded asylums there for the infirm, the deaf and dumb, the houseless widow and orphan, will found the same beneficent institutions here. Such is the destiny of California, such the patrimony which the aged, now descending into their graves, bequeath to their children. Who would dread such a vista? Who bar his offspring from such a heritage?"

The English Language. — The same paper foresaw at a very early date that English was to be the language of California. On October 10, 1846, when the English-speaking population of the entire territory was less than 2000, or not quite one-fifth of the total (exclusive of Indians), it said editorially:

"This [English] is to be the language of California. The vast tide of emigration from the United States will inevitably make it so. It becomes, therefore, every parent to have his children taught this language, and have it taught them early. . . . No parent should let his child grow up in ignorance; it is a reflection on him, and an inevitable misfortune to the child."

San Francisco. — The surpassing excellence of the San Francisco harbor, even while San Francisco was hardly a village, did not escape notice. The editor of the *Californian* writes, September 26, 1846:

"San Francisco will yet become the most important port in California. It has in itself advantages which no other port can rival. The navies of the whole world can float securely in its sheltered waters; and then the valleys which stretch away from its strand are clothed with perpetual verdure, and the streams which roll into it are never dry."

But even the prophetic editor could not foresee that within three short years that selfsame harbor would be transformed into a forest of masts by the influx of argonauts. At a somewhat later date, to be sure, he does get a truer view of Cali-

fornia's prospective greatness and of the certain importance of the town of San Francisco:

"Who can now doubt the importance to which California is destined? And who can doubt the important station the town of San Francisco is destined to occupy among the cities of the Pacific borders? We have already witnessed its rise from a few houses to a great many. It now contains eight stores of general merchandise, the most of which do a very considerable wholesale and retail business."

After the great tide of immigration had fairly set in even bolder prophecies were made — and with good reason. In the Constitutional Convention of 1849 Mr. R. M. Price, a delegate, used these words:

"Our commercial capital, San Francisco, is, in my opinion, destined to be the center of the exchange of the world, and is destined to supply the world with a large share of its currency. With our great natural wealth we can never want currency."

Population. — At the opening of the nineteenth century the population of California, exclusive of Indians, was perhaps 1300. The number of whites increased very slowly until the emigrants from the United States began to enter the country. In August of 1846 the population numbered, if we exclude Indians, about 10,000, of whom fewer than 2000 were foreigners. At the beginning of 1849 the number had reached 26,000, partly native Californians and the remainder Americans and foreigners. The immigration of Americans

during 1849 was estimated at 80,000 and of foreigners at 20,000. When the year 1850 opened, the population amounted in round numbers to 115,000.* San Francisco grew from 812 in March, 1848, to over 5000 in July of 1849.

The Constitutional Convention which met at Monterey in September, 1849, set for itself the

A COMBINED HARVESTER

task of framing a state government; and on September 9 of the next year there was born, amidst the most intense struggles in the arena of our national government, the Empire State of the Pacific — California the Golden.

All-devouring "Manifest Destiny" is having her way, but is not yet satisfied. California "has be-

* It is well understood that the census report for California for 1850 is incomplete and inaccurate.

come a free and independent state," of the American Union; she is no longer "subject to a foreign arbitrary power, to domestic revolutions or military rule." She makes her own laws, manages her own resources and founds those institutions in which her children find a happy home. Instead of the brier and bramble there are golden harvests waving over hills and valleys. Instead of the thousands of antelope, elk and deer, there are countless sheep, cattle and horses. Where a brief half-century ago there were a few scattered villages of degraded Indians, numerous flourishing cities and towns now support their teeming, enlightened population.

A Modern Rip Van Winkle. — Let one of our hoary-headed pioneers who has lived long enough to witness the entire American development of California lose himself — as he is prone to do — in daydreams of our heroic age. Let him visit, in recollection, the quaint Mission of the padres, participate once again in the spirited *fandango*, meet and terrify the wild Indian who had never looked upon the face of a white man. Let him come upon the haunts of the great grizzly, behold the vast herds of elk, listen to the howling of the wolf and the coyote; let him fondly think of home and loved ones thousands of miles away, until lonesome and wistful he is wrapt in reverie. Then let

CHESTER PLACE, LOS ANGELES

him, Rip Van Winkle that he is, suddenly awake and look out upon the splendid modern commonwealth of California. Truly marvelous is the transformation he will witness.

Growth in Population. — Note first the population. The American population of 2000 in the year of the gold discovery has passed the 2,000,000 mark, the census reports showing these gigantic strides: 1850, 92,597; 1860, 379,994; 1870, 560,247; 1880, 864,694; 1890, 1,208,130; 1900, 1,485,053; 1910, 2,377,549. San Francisco, from being a pueblo of 135 dwellings and 12 places of business in 1848, has persevered through much tribulation. True to the phœnix myth, she has risen from the ashes of her greatest calamity, and is destined to be one of America's mightiest cities, if not "the center of the exchange of the world." Los Angeles, a village of 1600 inhabitants when California became a state, has become a metropolitan center of 320,000, setting a new mark to the world in city building.

Material Resources. — California's material resources are ample, beyond easy comprehension. Note the magnitude of her mining industry. In less than half a century upwards of $1,250,000,000 in gold was produced, the production for the single year of 1852 amounting to $81,294,700. Gold mining continues apace. Besides gold the mineral product of California is very large and is in various

forms, such as quicksilver, coal, iron, silver, copper, tin, zinc, borax and natural gas; as well as structural materials, such as cement, clay, macadam, marble, sandstone and onyx. Some idea of the value of petroleum and allied products may be gained from the fact that the production of petroleum in 1910 is

OIL WELLS ON THE EDGE OF THE PACIFIC AT SUNDERLAND

estimated at 73,000,000 barrels as against 4,000,000 in 1900 and 403,000 barrels in 1890. In addition to supplying her own markets California is supplying the whole western coast of America from Chile to Alaska with crude oil, is sending it across the Pacific to Japan and will soon be openly competing for the market of the Eastern States, of Europe and of Africa.

Much of the true gold of California lies in her spreading grain fields. For years it was believed by many that mining was the only industry that would pay; but the present acreage of wheat, barley, oats and corn, running into the millions, with annual yields worth scores of millions of

AN ORANGE GROVE IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

dollars, shows how utterly baseless was such a belief. The grain products for a single year (1908) including wheat, barley, oats and other grains amounted in value to nearly $55,000,000; while the total value of California's farm products for that year is estimated at $225,000,000 or 450 times that of 1850.

Add to this the golden products of the dairies, amounting in one year to more than $25,000,000, the

thousands of carloads of fruit of all kinds shipped out of the state every year, amounting in 1909 to more than 1,200,000 tons, the $87,000,000 worth of forest products in a single year and the enormous riches of vine and valley, of stream and bay —and the material side of California's resources must be indeed impressive. The annual soil production mounts to the grand total of nearly half a billion of dollars.

Development of Commerce.— The commercial importance of California is likewise established. But for the primitive canoe and an occasional brig the splendid harbor of San Francisco was entirely unused until the gold discovery transformed it into a forest of masts. The completion of the Pacific Railroad in 1869 was an event of highest importance. The entrance of great competing railroads augurs well for future commerce; while the completion of the Panama Canal will be epoch-making for the entire Pacific coast. Greater Los Angeles is actively preparing for the commercial leadership of the great Southwest. The absorption of Wilmington and San Pedro in 1909 gave her the improved harbor of San Pedro and placed her on the highway of maritime greatness. Our trade with new China and the Orient will rapidly assume proportions that hitherto have appeared quite incredible. To-day we are witnessing the

first fruits of Seward's prophetic sentiment, for before our eyes the mighty Pacific is becoming "the chief theater of the events of the world's great hereafter," and our western borders the "right hand of the continent."

THE INNER QUADRANGLE
LELAND STANFORD JUNIOR UNIVERSITY

Education. — Warm interest was taken in the subject of education by the convention of 1849, which showed excellent foresight in setting apart certain revenues for a state university and a complete system of public schools. The University of California, established in 1868, is at present ranked as one of the greatest in America, as is also the Leland Stanford Junior University at

Palo Alto, while other colleges and universities of high rank are not wanting. Every considerable town and village has its high school or academy; excellent professional, normal and technical schools abound; graded schools are everywhere. In no

SCENE ON THE CAMPUS
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

other state is the educational standard higher than in California.

It is well known that California has long been synonymous with largeness. Her own dimensions; her mountains; her bays, rivers and lakes; her grain fields, orchards and gardens; her trees; her marvelous works of nature — these enjoy everywhere a reputation for largeness. But are these works of nature and these ample material resources

of man the true measure of California's greatness? Is such foundation sufficient to the demands of the future to which destiny beckons the Golden State?

High Destiny of the Golden State. — "Manifest Destiny" has uttered many a decree not yet fully

COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

carried out. California's population will continue to increase; the arid wastes of the great West will be reclaimed and transformed into populous and fertile districts; industries now in their infancy will expand to unexpected proportions and material wealth of every kind will multiply. From a position of complete separation from the world only a few decades ago, California will be thrust into

the very center of the geography of world movements. California's vantage, her coast line of 700 miles and her unequaled harbors, destine her to be "Queen of the Pacific."

But will she fulfill her high destiny? Will she steadfastly obey the higher law of her nature and mount to the summit of her opportunities?

Our hoary-headed pioneer, ripened by his years and his wealth of experience, raises his hand and his voice of warning as he utters words of wisdom and lays upon us his parting injunction.

What constitutes a state? Our mines and fields and factories; the growth of population, the magnitude of commerce; our systems of law, our institutions of learning—these singly or combined, material agents as they are, can never inaugurate the perfection of progress, except as they produce "men, high-minded men," men

> "Who live above the fog
> In public duty and in private thinking."

"Manifest Destiny" is calling to-day for native sons and native daughters of true moral fiber and excellent virtues. Heaven itself lays upon us the injunction, "Quit you like men. Be strong!"

APPENDIX

FRANCISCAN MISSIONS OF ALTA CALIFORNIA

Giving the dates at which they were founded.

San Diego, in San Diego County, July 16, 1769.
San Luis Rey, San Diego County, June 13, 1798.
San Juan Capistrano, Orange County, November 1, 1776.
San Gabriel Arcangel, Los Angeles County, September 8, 1771.
San Buenaventura, Ventura County, March 31, 1782.
San Fernando, Los Angeles County, September 8, 1797.
Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara County, December 4, 1786.
Santa Ynez, Santa Barbara County, September 17, 1804.
La Purisima Concepción, Santa Barbara County, December 8, 1787.
San Luis Obispo, San Luis Obispo County, September 1, 1772.
San Miguel Arcangel, San Luis Obispo County, July 25, 1797.
San Antonio de Padua, Monterey County, July 14, 1771.
La Soledad, Monterey County, October 9, 1791.
San Carlos de Monterey (or Carmel Mission), Monterey County, June 3, 1770.
San Juan Bautista, San Benito County, June 24, 1797.
Santa Cruz, Santa Cruz County, August 28, 1791.
Santa Clara, Santa Clara County, January 18, 1777.
San José, Alameda County, June 11, 1797.
Dolores, or San Francisco de Asis, San Francisco County, October 9, 1776.
San Rafael Arcangel, Marin County, December 18, 1817.
San Francisco Solano, Sonoma County, August 25, 1823.

JESUIT MISSIONS OF LOWER CALIFORNIA

San José del Cabo.
Santiago de los Coras.
Todos Santos.
Nuestra Señora de los Dolores del Sur.

San Aloysio.
San Francisco Xavier de Vigge Biaundo.
Nuestra Señora de Loreto.
San José de Comondu.
La Purisima Concepción.
Santa Rosalie de Mulége.
Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe.
San Ignacio.
Santa Gertrudis.
San Francisco de Borja.
Nuestra Señora de Columna.

GOVERNORS OF CALIFORNIA

Spanish Governors

Gaspar de Portolá, 1769–71.
Felipe de Barri, 1771–74.
Felipe de Neve, 1774–82.
Pedro Fages, 1782–90.
José Romeu, 1790–92.
José Arrillaga, 1792–94.
Diego de Borica, 1794–1800.
José Arrillaga, 1800–14.
José Argüello, 1814–15.
Pablo de Sola, 1815–22.

Mexican Governors

Luis Argüello, 1823–25.
José Maria Echeandia, 1825–31.
Manuel Victoria, 1831–32.
Pio Pico, 1832–33.
José Figueroa, 1833–35.
José Castro, 1835–36.
Nicolas Gutierrez, 1836 (January to May).
Mariano Chico, 1836 (few months).
Nicolas Gutierrez, 1836 (few months).
Juan B. Alvarado, 1836–42.
Manuel Micheltorena, 1842–45.
Pio Pico, 1846 (February 22 to August 10).

American Governors under Military Rule

John D. Sloat, July 7, 1846.
Robert F. Stockton, July 29, 1846.
John C. Frémont, January 19, 1847 (for 50 days).
Stephen W. Kearny, March to May 31, 1847.
Richard B. Mason, May 31, 1847.
Persifor F. Smith, February 28, 1849.
Bennet Riley, April 12, 1849.

Governors of the State of California

Peter H. Burnett, December 20, 1849 (Democrat).
John McDougall, January 9, 1851 (Democrat).
John Bigler, January 8, 1852 (Democrat).
John Bigler, January 7, 1854 (Democrat).
John Neely Johnson, January 9, 1856 (American Party).
John B. Weller, January 8, 1858 (Democrat).
Milton S. Latham, January 9, 1860 (Democrat).
John G. Downey, January 14, 1860 (Democrat).
Leland Stanford, January 10, 1862 (Republican).
Frederick F. Low, December 10, 1863 (Union Party).
Henry H. Haight, December 5, 1867 (Democrat).
Newton Booth, December 8, 1871 (Republican).
Romualdo Pacheco, February 27, 1875 (Republican).
William Irwin, December 9, 1875 (Democrat).
George C. Perkins, January 8, 1880 (Republican).
George Stoneman, January 10, 1883 (Democrat).
Washington Bartlett, January 8, 1887 (Democrat).
Robert W. Waterman, September 13, 1887 (Republican).
H. H. Markham, January 8, 1891 (Republican).
James H. Budd, January 11, 1895 (Democrat).
Henry T. Gage, January 4, 1899 (Republican).
George C. Pardee, January 7, 1903 (Republican).
James N. Gillett, January 9, 1907 (Republican).
Hiram Johnson, January 3, 1911 (Republican).

POPULATION OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA BY DECADES

1850	92,597
1860	379,994
1870	560,247
1880	864,694
1890	1,208,130
1900	1,485,053
1910	2,377,549

COUNTIES OF CALIFORNIA

With county seats, area in square miles, and population according to 1910 census.

NAME.	COUNTY SEAT.	AREA, SQ. MILES.	POPULATION.
Alameda	Oakland	840	246,131
Alpine	Markleeville	575	309
Amador	Jackson	568	9,086
Butte	Oroville	1,764	27,301
Calaveras	San Andreas	990	9,171
Colusa	Colusa	1,080	7,732
Contra Costa	Martinez	750	31,674
Del Norte	Crescent City	1,546	2,417
El Dorado	Placerville	1,891	7,492
Fresno	Fresno	5,606	75,657
Glenn	Willow	1,460	7,172
Humboldt	Eureka	3,507	33,857
Imperial	El Centro	4,140	13,591
Inyo	Independence	10,224	6,974
Kern	Bakersfield	8,159	37,715
Kings	Hanford	1,260	16,230
Lake	Lakeport	1,332	5,526
Lassen	Susanville	4,750	4,802
Los Angeles	Los Angeles	3,957	504,131
Madera	Madera	2,140	8,368
Marin	San Rafael	516	25,114
Mariposa	Mariposa	1,580	3,956

NAME.	COUNTY SEAT.	AREA, SQ. MILES.	POPULATION.
Mendocino	Ukiah	3,400	23,929
Merced	Merced	1,750	15,148
Modoc	Alturas	4,097	6,191
Mono	Bridgeport	2,796	2,042
Monterey	Salinas	3,450	24,146
Napa	Napa	800	19,800
Nevada	Nevada City	958	14,955
Orange	Santa Ana	780	34,436
Placer	Auburn	1,484	18,237
Plumas	Quincy	2,361	5,259
Riverside	Riverside	7,008	34,696
Sacramento	Sacramento	1,007	67,806
San Benito	Hollister	1,476	8,041
San Bernardino	San Bernardino	20,055	56,706
San Diego	San Diego	4,377	61,665
San Francisco	San Francisco	42	416,912
San Joaquin	Stockton	1,370	50,731
San Luis Obispo	San Luis Obispo	3,500	19,383
San Mateo	Redwood City	470	26,585
Santa Barbara	Santa Barbara	2,450	27,738
Santa Clara	San José	1,355	83,539
Santa Cruz	Santa Cruz	425	26,140
Shasta	Redding	4,050	18,920
Sierra	Downieville	910	4,098
Siskiyou	Yreka	6,078	18,801
Solano	Fairfield	911	27,559
Sonoma	Santa Rosa	1,540	48,394
Stanislaus	Modesto	1,486	22,522
Sutter	Yuba City	611	6,328
Tehama	Red Bluff	3,200	11,401
Trinity	Weaverville	3,276	3,301
Tulare	Visalia	4,863	35,440
Tuolumne	Sonora	2,282	9,979
Ventura	San Buenaventura	1,850	18,347
Yolo	Woodland	1,017	13,926
Yuba	Marysville	625	10,042

PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY

Key. — In pronouncing Spanish words and proper names it will be of great assistance to note carefully the sounds of the vowels, as follows: *a* as in *father; e* as in *eight; i* as in *machine; o* as in *old; u* as in *rule.*

Markings are used as follows:

ā as in *lāte; ă* as in *hăt; ä* as in *fäther; ạ* as in *whạt; ē* as in *hē; ĕ* as in *mĕt; e̱* as in *ve̱il; ī* as in *īce; ĭ* as in *bĭn; ï* as in *polïce; ō* as in *sō; ŏ* as in *nŏt; ụ* as in *rụle; ȳ* as in *mȳ; ç̣h* as in *maç̣hine.*

Ä-cä-pụl'cō
ăd-mĭ-nĭs-trä-dō'r̲es, administrators
ä-dō'b̲e, sun-dried brick
Ä-lä-me̱'dä, a public walk or shaded promenade
Ȧ-lăs'kȧ
Äl-cä-lä'
ăl-căl'de̱, mayor, magistrate
ăl'tä, high, upper
Äl-vä-rä'dō
Ä-mä-dïs'
Ăm'ä-zŏn (Spanish *ä-mä-zōn'*), a mythical female warrior
Ä-me̱-rĭ-cä'nōs
Ä-nĭ-ăn'
Ä-pä'che̱, an Indian tribe
är'gō-naut, a gold seeker
Arguello (*är-gwāl'yō*), **Dōn Lụ'ĭs**
Är'y-ăn, parent stock of Latin and Anglo-Saxon races
ä-tō'le̱, roasted barley meal
au'rĭ să'crȧ fä'mēs, thirst for gold
Ăz'tĕcs, ancient inhabitants of Mexico
Bä'dĕn
Bahama (*bä-ah'mä*)
baja (*bä'hä*), lower
Bäl-bō'ä, Väs'cō Nuñez (*noon'ye̱s*)
Băn-dï'nï
Bautista (*bough-tees'tä*)
Bē'rĭng, Vï'tŭs
Blăn'cō
Bō-de̱'gä
Bō-rï'cä
Borja (*bōr'hä*)
Buen (*bwān*) **tï-e̱m'pō,** the good time

caballero (*cä-bäl-yā'rō*), knightly gentleman
Cä'bō Bajō (*bä'hō*)
Cä'bō de̱l Engano (*e̱n-gän'yō*)
Cä-brï'llō, Rodriguez (*rō-drē'ge̱s*)
Calafia (*cä-le̱-fï'ä*)
Căr-ĭb-bē'an
Căr-me̱'lō
Cä-rrän'cō
cä-rre̱'tä, Mexican cart
Cä-rrï'llō

Căs-tĭle′
Căs′trō
Ç̣hä′gre̱s
Cheyenne (*shī-ĕn′*)
Cō-lō′mä
Cōl′tŏn
Cō-lṳm′nä
cō-män-dän′te̱, commander
Cōn-ce̱p-cĭ-ōn′
Cōr′dō-bä, Äl-be̱r′tō
Cō-rō-nä′dō
cō-yō′te̱, prairie wolf
Cre̱s′pĭ
Cuba (*kū′bä;* Spanish *koo′bä*)
Cȳ-ă-ne′

Dā′rĭ-ĕn
De̱ Mofras (*mō′frä*)
De̱ Smĕt
Dĭ-ä′blō
Dĭ-e̱z′
Dĭ-ōs′, God
Dō-lō′re̱s
Dō-mĭn′ĭ-cän, follower of St. Dominic; monastic order

E̱s-plän-dĭ-än′
e̱x po̱st fạc′to̱, after the deed is done

fän-dän′gō, a general dance and feast
Fe̱-rre̱′lō, Bär-tō-lō-me̱′
fī-e̱s′ tä, feast-day, holiday
frijoles (*frē-hō′le̱s*), beans

Galli (*gäl′yē*), **Francisco** (*frän-thĭs′cō*)
Galvez (*gäl′ve̱th*), **Jose′** (*hō-sāy′*)
Gä′mä, Väs′cō dä

Gä-vĭ-län′
gente de razon (*hān-tā dā rä-sōn′*) men of reason, civilized
gentiles (*hān-tē′lās*)
Gillespie (*gĭl-lĕs′pĭ*)
Grijalva (*grē-häl′vä*)
grĭn′gō, one of English blood or speech
Gṳ-tĭe̱′rre̱z

Hawaii (*hä-wī′ī*)
Hĭ-däl′gō, Guä-dä-lṳ′pe̱
Hĭs-pä′nō-Cäl-ĭ-fōr′nĭ-ä

Jṳ-nĭ-pe̱r′ṳs
juzgado (*hooz-gä′dō*), tribunal, court house

Kearny (*kär′nў*)
Kĭ′nō
Klä′mäth

Lä Päz
Lä Perouse (*pe̱-rous′*)
Lä Pṳ-rĭ′sĭ-mä
Laramie (*lăr′ā-mē*)
Lär′kĭn
Läs-ṳ-e̱n′
Lē-vănt′, region about the eastern Mediterranean
Lō′pe̱z
Lō-re̱′tō
Lōs Angeles (*äng′hāl-ais*)

Mä-ḡĕl′lăn
Mäl-dō-nä′dō, Pe̱′drō Nuñez (*noon′yās*)
mä-tän′zä, annual or semi-annual slaughter of cattle
mä-yōr′dō′mō, a chief steward.

Mä-zu̯-e̱l'ä, Juan (*hōō-än'*) **de̱**
Mendocino (*me̱n-dō-thē'nō*)
Me̱n-dō'zä
me̱-tä'te̱, stone used in grinding grain
Mō'dŏcs
Mōn-täl'vō, Ordonez (*ōr-dōn'ye̱s*) **de̱**
Mōn-te̱-re̱y'
Montezuma (*mōn-tā-zoo'mä*)
mu̯'çhạs gracias (*grạ-thĭ'ạs*), many thanks

Nä'pä
Nä-vī-däd'
neophyte (*nā'ō-fīte*), baptized Indian
Ne̱'ve̱, Fe̱-lī'pe̱ de̱
New Ăl'bī-ŏn
Newfoundland (*new'fund-land*)
New Helvetia (*Hĕl-vē-shĭ'ä*)
Nu̯-e̱s'trä Señora (*se̱n-yō'rä*)
Nu̯e̱'vä, new

pä'dre̱s, fathers
Pä'lōu̯, Francisco (*frän-thĭs'cō*)
Pä-nä-mä'
Pär-kä'dō
Pä-ye̱'räs, Mä-rī-ä'nō
Perez (*pā'rās*), **Juan** (*hoo-än'*)
Pe̱'trä
Philippine (*fĭl'ĭp-pĭn*)
Pĭc-cō'lō
Pī'cō, Pī'ō
pī-nō'le̱, corn meal
plaza (*plä'sä*), public square
pō-blä-dō're̱s, settlers, colonists
Point Pī'nōs (also called **Cä'bō de̱ Pī'nōs**)
Point Reyes (*re̱'ye̱s*)

Pōr-tō-lä', Gäs'pär de̱
pre̱-sī'dī-ō, fortified garrison
Prō-vĭn'cī-äs Ĭn-te̱r'näs, Internal Provinces
pueblo (*pwāb'lō*), town
Puget (*pū'jĕt*) **Sound**

Rä-mī're̱z
rän-che̱-rī'ä, village of Indians
rän-che̱'rōs, ranchers, farmers
rän'chōs, ranches, farms
re̱-bō'sō, scarf worn by Spanish women
Re̱-zä'nŏf
Rī-ve̱'rä y (*ē*) **Mōn-cä'dä**
rō-de̱'ō, round-up of cattle for branding and separating
Ruelle (*ru̯-ĕl'*), **Băp-tĭste'**

Sä-crä-me̱n'tō
sä'gäs, Scandinavian myths
Säl-vä-tī-e̱'rrä
säl've̱, a salute
Sän Ä-lōy'sī-ō
Sän Än-tō'nī-ō
Sän Buenaventura (*bwā-nä-ve̱n-too'rä*)
Sän Cär'lōs
Sän Dī-e̱'gō
Sän Fe̱r-nän'dō
Sän Frän-cĭs'cō
Sän Gä-brī-e̱l'
Sän Joaquin (*hōa-keen'*)
Sän José (*hō-sāy'*)
Sän José de̱l Cä'bō
Sän Juan (*hoo-än'*) **Bautista** (*bough-tēs'tä*)
Sän Juan Căp-ĭs-trä'nō
Sän Lu̯'ĭs Ō-bĭs'pō

Sän Lu'is Rey (*re*)
Sän Mä-te'ō
Sän Miguel (*mē-gāle'*)
Sän Päs-quäl'
Sän Pe'drō
Sän Rä-fä-el'
Sän'tä Bär'bä-rä
Sän'tä Cä-tä-lī'nä
Sän'tä Clä'rä
Sän'tä Cruz (*kroos*)
Sän'tä El'lä
Sän'tä Fe'
Sän'tä Gertrudis (*her-troo'-dees*)
Sän'tä Inez (*ē'nāse*)
Sän'tä Mä-rī'ä
Sän'tä Rō-sä-lī-ä de Mulege (*moo-lā'hāy*)
Sän'tī-ä'gō de läs Cō'räs
Sän'tō Dō-mīn'gō
Sän'tō Tō-mäs'
sä-rä'pe, cloak worn by Spanish gentlemen
Ser'rä, Junipero (*hoo-nē-pā'rō*)
Sō-lä'nō
Señor (*sen-yor'*), sir, Mister.
Señora (*sen-yō'rä*), Madam
Señorita (*sen-yō-rē'tä*), Miss
se-quoi'ä, gigantic tree of pine family
Shäs'tä
Sī-e'rra Ne-vä'dä
sī-es'tä, an after-dinner nap
sō-brän'te, surplus, residue
sōm-bre'rō, hat with broad brim
Sō-nō'mä
Sutter (*soo'ter*)

Tä-mä-räl'
Te-huán-te-pec'
te-mes-cäl', assembly hall
Thē'sē-ŭs, mythical character of ancient Greece
Tō'dōs Sän'tōs
tortilla (*tōr-teel'yä*), coarse cake of corn meal
Tu-lä're
tu'les, species of bulrush, common in California

Ugarte (*oo-gär'tā*)
Ulloa (*oo-lō'ä*) **Francisco** (*frän-thīs'cō*) **de**
Ur-dä-ne'tä, Än-dres' de

Vallejo (*väl-yā'hō*), **Mä-rī-ä'nō**
Vancouver (*văn-kōō'ver*)
vaquero (*vä-kā'rō*), cowboy, herdsman
Ve-ne'gäs
Ven'I Cre-ä'tōr, a church hymn
Ve'rä Cruz (*kroos*)
Verger (*vār-hār'*)
Vīg'ge, BI-ăun'dō
vigilantes (*vī-hī-lăn'tēs*), members of vigilance committees
Vila (*veel'yäh*), **VI-cen'te**
VI-sī-tä'dōr-Gen-er-äl', a chief officer
Vizcaino (*vēs-kä-ē'nō*), **Se-bäs-tī-än'**

wĭk'I-ŭp, rude Indian hut

Xavier (*hä'vē-ār*), **Sän Francisco** (*frän-thīs'cō*)
Ximenez (*hē-mē'nes*)

Yer'bä Buena (*bwā'nä*), a fragrant plant; the early name of San Francisco
Yo-sĕm'I-tĕ

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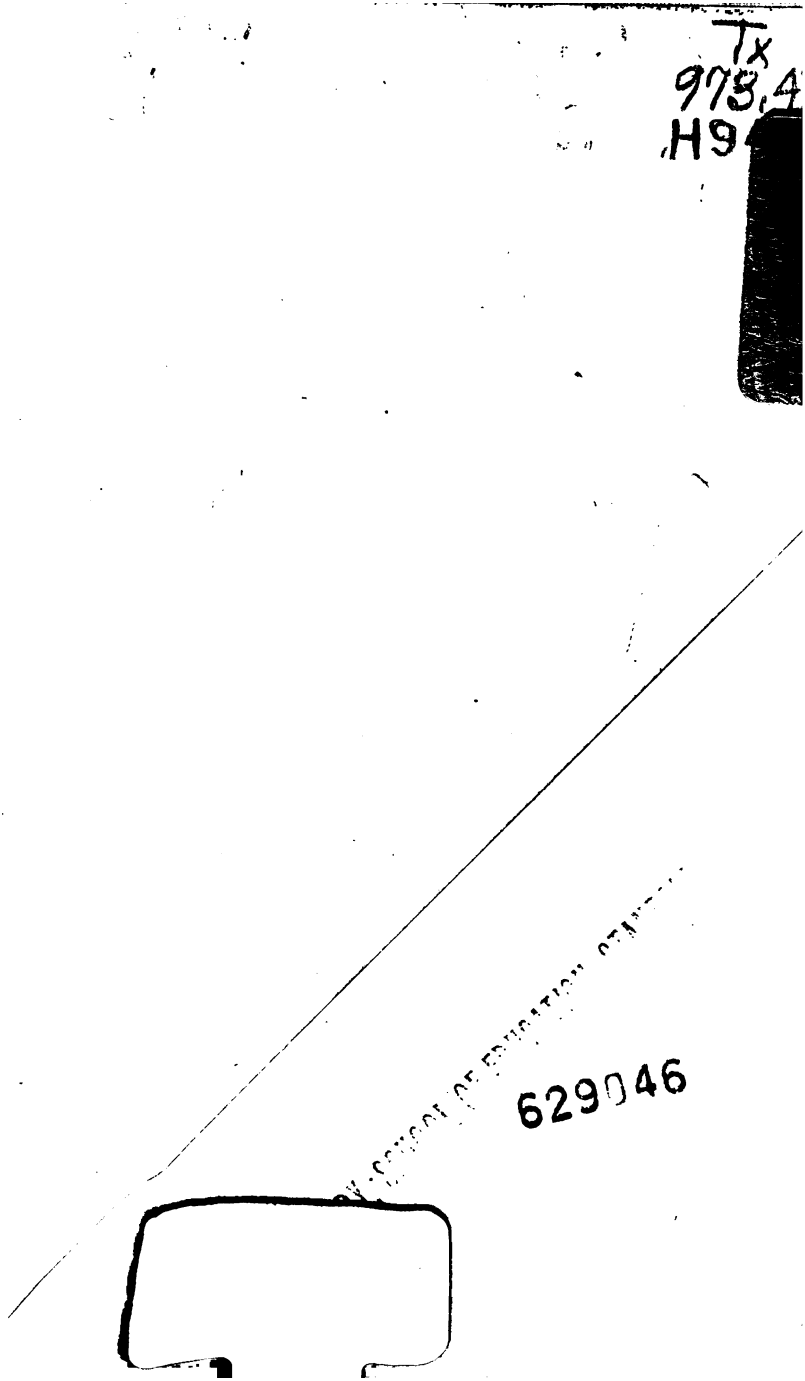

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